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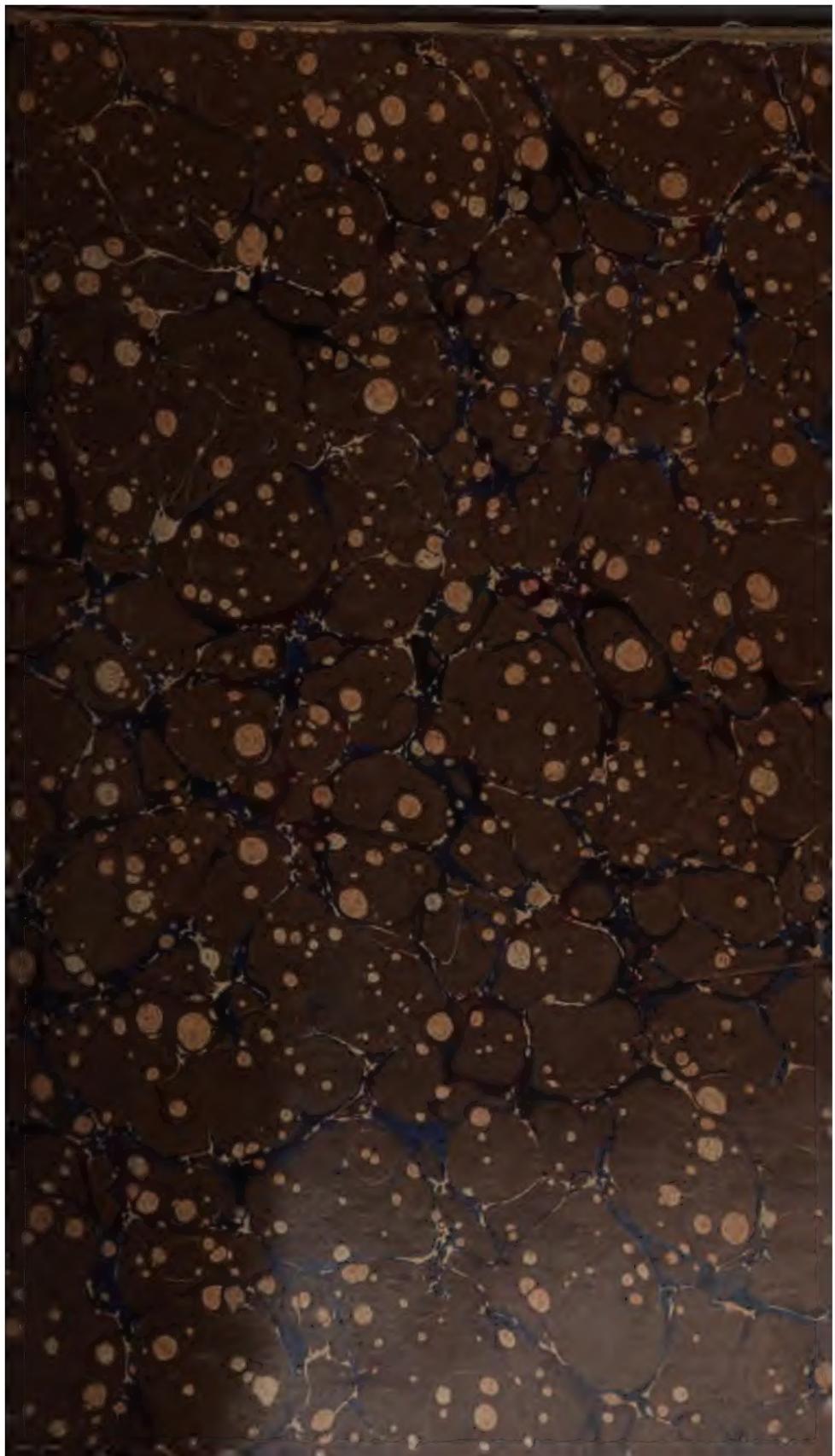
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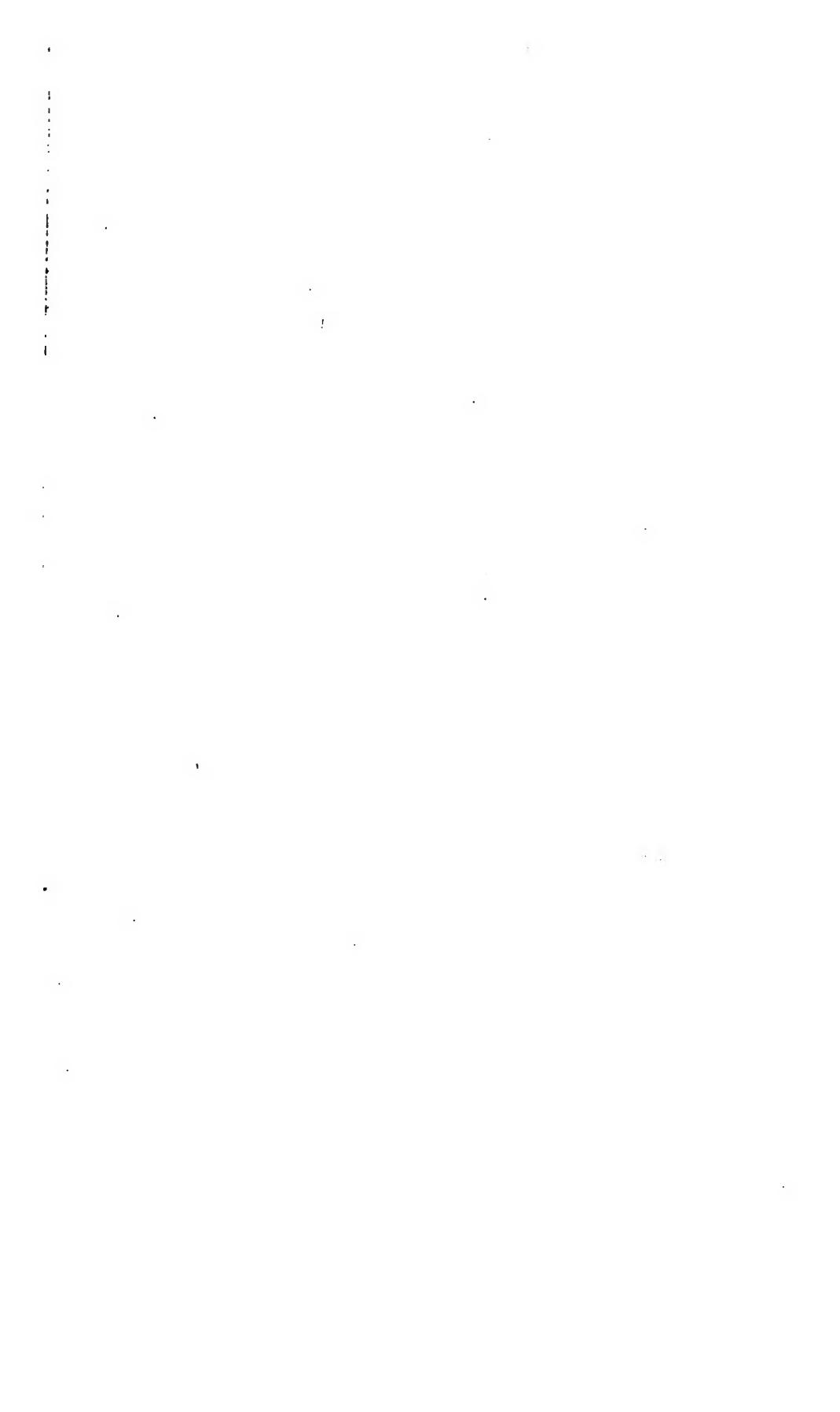
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THE GIFT OF

Horace Davis





VOL. VIII.

NEW SERIES.

PART I.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

American Antiquarian Society,

AT THE

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING HELD IN BOSTON,

APRIL 27, 1892.



WORCESTER, MASS., U. S. A.
PRESS OF CHARLES HAMILTON,
311 MAIN STREET,
1892.

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AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY.

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OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY.

COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

EDWARD E. HALE.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

NEW SERIES, VOL. VIII.

APRIL, 1892—APRIL, 1893.



WORCESTER:
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1893.

WORCESTER:

PRESS OF CHARLES HAMILTON.

1801.

THE SCHOOL OF THE ARTS AND DESIGN UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

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NOTE.

This eighth volume of the American Antiquarian Society's Proceedings, New Series, contains the roll of Officers and Members, July, 1893, the reports of the Annual Meeting in October, 1892, and of the Semi-Annual Meetings in April, 1892, and April, 1893, also the action of the Council on the death of Rev. Andrew P. Peabody, D.D.

In connection with the reports of the Council are papers by George E. Ellis, on the History of the Earth in Libraries and Museums; by Edward E. Hale, on the Results of Columbus's Discovery, and by J. Evarts Greene, on the Santa Fé Trade.

There are also papers by William E. Foster, Hamilton A. Hill, John D. Washburn, Philipp J. J. Valentini, William B. Weeden, Edward H. Thompson, Andrew McF. Davis, W. Noel Sainsbury, and Charles H. Firth.

Biographical notes of deceased members have been prepared by Nathaniel Paine, Charles A. Chase, Edward E. Hale, J. Evarts Greene, and George F. Hoar.

COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

WORCESTER, August, 1893.

ERRATA.

Page 81, line 86, and Page 82, line 1, for *Town Hall Dedication, Worcester, May 2, 1825*, read *Worcester County Centennial Celebration, Oct. 4, 1831*.

Page 84, line 1, for *Joseph* read *Benjamin*.

Page 111, line 18, omit "a *Royal Academician*."

Page 145, line 18, for *Miles* read *Myles*.

Page 299, line 24, for *New England* read *Massachusetts*.

Page 301, line 4, after word *newspaper* read "in *Massachusetts*."

Page 303, line 7, for *Hartford* read *Harvard*.

Page 334, line 5, for *Knight* read *McKnight*.

Page 334, lines 14, 28 and 36, for *Bicknell* read *Becknell*.

Page 366, line 33, for *Lucy H. Colman* read *Lucy N. Colman*.

Page 372, line 35, for *thirtieth* read *thirteenth*.

Page 378, line 18, for *Le Strange* read *L'Estrange*.

Pages 393, line 15, and 435, line 6 *n.*, for *Catherine* read *Katherine*.

ROLL OF OFFICERS AND MEMBERS.

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JULY, 1893.

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JAMES DAVIE BUTLER, LL.D.,	Madison, Wis.,	" 1854.
HON. JAMES HAMMOND TRUMBULL, LL.D., Hartford, Conn.,		" 1855.

Roll of Members.

XI.

HON. HORACE GRAY, LL.D.,	Boston, Mass.,	October, 1860.
MR. NATHANIEL PAINE,	Worcester, "	" 1860.
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HON. SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN, M.D.,	Boston,	" 1865.
FRANCIS PARKMAN, LL.D.,	" "	" 1865.
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REV. GEORGE STURGIS PAINE, A.M.,	" "	April, 1867.
HON. EDWARD LIVINGSTON DAVIS, A.M.,	" "	October, 1867.
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WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY, LL.D.,	New Haven, Conn.,	April, 1868.
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ALBERT HARRISON HOYT, A.M.,	Boston,	" 1875.
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HON. JOSEPH BURBEEN WALKER, A.M.,	Concord, "	" 1879.
REV. GEORGE PARK FISHER, LL.D.,	New Haven, Conn.,	October, 1879.
CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE, A.M.,	Worcester, Mass.,	April, 1880.
SAMUEL SWETT GREEN, A.M.,	" "	" 1880.
JUSTIN WINSOR, LL.D.,	Cambridge, "	October, 1880.
HERBERT BAXTER ADAMS, LL.D.,	Baltimore, Md.,	April, 1881.
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HENRY WILLIAMSON HAYNES, A.M.,	Boston, Mass.,	" 1881.
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HON. HENRY CABOT LODGE, LL.D.,	Nahant, Mass.,	" 1881.
GEN. HORATIO ROGERS, A.B.,	Providence, R. I.,	April, 1882.
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HENRY HITCHCOCK, LL.D.,	St. Louis, Mo.,	" 1882.
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ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS, A.M.,	Cambridge, "	" 1882.
REV. CYRUS HAMLIN, LL.D.,	Lexington, "	" 1883.
JEREMIAH EVARTS GREENE, A.B.,	Worcester, "	October, 1883.
REV. CHARLES MARION LAMSON, LL.D.,	St. Johnsbury, Vt.,	" 1883.

Roll of Members.

XIII.

HON. HENRY STEDMAN NOURSE, A.M.,	Lancaster, Mass.,	October, 1883.
JOHN BACH MCMASTER, A.M.,	Philadelphia, Pa.,	April, 1884.
WILLIAM BABCOCK WEEDEN, A.M.,	Providence, R. I.,	" 1884.
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HON. WILLIAM WHITNEY RICE, LL.D.,	" "	" 1885.
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EDWARD CHANNING, PH.D.,	Cambridge, "	" 1885.
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REV. EDWARD EGGLESTON, S.T.D.,		
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LOUIS ADOLPHE HUGUET-LATOUR, A.M.,	Montreal,	April, 1861.
JOHN GEORGE BOURINOT, D.C.L.,	Ottawa,	" 1893.
GREAT BRITAIN.		
MR. WILLIAM NOEL SAINTSBURY,	London,	October, 1867.
THE DUKE OF ARGYLL, D.C.L.,	"	" 1869.

Roll of Members.

XV.

JAMES BRYCE, D.C.L.,	London,	April, 1882.
JOHN BEDDOR, M.D., LL.D.,	Bradford-on-Avon,	" 1887.
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MR. HENRY BELLOWS,	Gloucester,	October, 1892.
CHARLES HARDING FIRTH, M.A.,	Oxford,	" 1892.

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THEODOR MOMMSEN, PH.D.,	"	" 1870.
OTTO KELLER, PH.D.,	Stuttgart,	April, 1875.
HERMANN VON HOLST, PH.D.,	Freiburg,	October, 1882.
ERNST CURTIUS, LL.D.,	Berlin,	" 1891.
JOHANNES CONRAD, PH.D.,	Halle,	April, 1893.

FRANCE.

PROF. EDOUARD CHEVALIER,	Paris,	October, 1882.
JAMES JACKSON, F.R.G.S.,	"	" 1882.

SPAIN.

DON MARCO XIMINES DE LA ESPADA,	Madrid,	October, 1882.
DON JUSTO ZARAGOZA,	"	" 1882.
DON CRISTOBAL COLON, DUKE OF VERAGUA,		April, 1893.

MEXICO.

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SEÑOR ANDRES AZNAR PÉREZ,	" "	October, 1879.
SEÑOR ALFREDO CHAVERO,	Mexico,	" 1881.
SEÑOR JOAQUIN GARCIA ICAZBALCETA,	"	" 1881.
SEÑOR JOAQUIN HÜBBE,	Mérida de Yucatan,	October, 1881.
MR. LOUIS HENRY AYMÉ,	" "	April, 1882.
SEÑOR JUSTO BENITEZ,	Mexico,	" 1884.
MR. EDWARD HERBERT THOMPSON,	Mérida de Yucatan,	" 1887.
DR. NICOLAS LEÓN,	Guadalupe,	October, 1890.

ITALY.

COMMENDATORE GIOVANNI BATTISTA DE ROSSI,	Rome,	April, 1882.
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RUSSIA.

PROF. PAVEL GAVRILOVITCH VINOGRADOFF,	Mescow,	April, 1898.
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CALIFORNIA.

HUBERT H. BANCROFT, A.M., San Francisco.

HON. HORACE DAVIS, LL.D., "

JOHN T. DOYLE, A.M., "

CONNECTICUT.

CHARLES J. HOADLY, LL.D., Hartford.

HON. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, LL.D., "

FRANKLIN B. DEXTER, M.A., New Haven.

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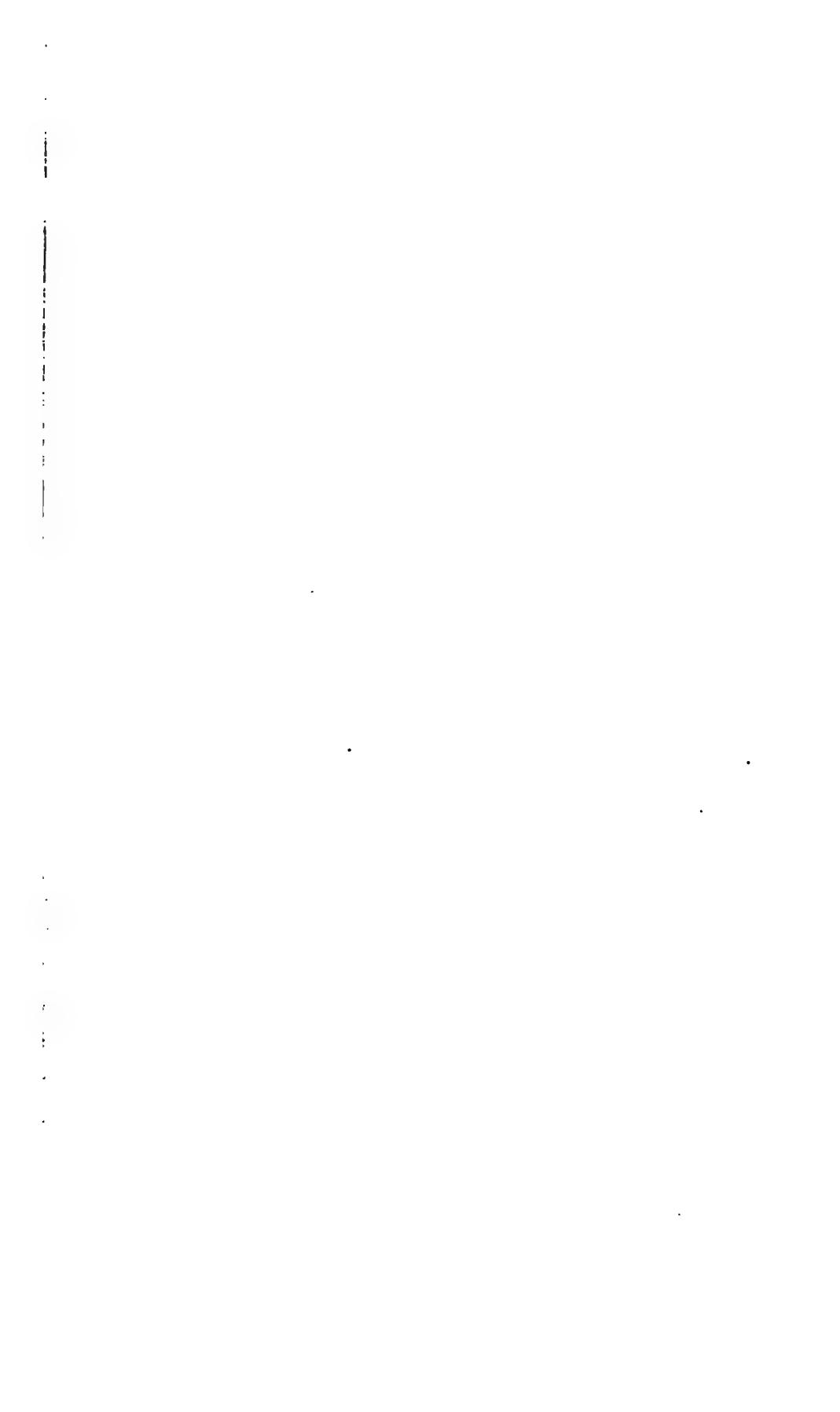
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PROCEEDINGS.

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 27, 1892, AT THE HALL OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, BOSTON.

PRESIDENT STEPHEN SALISBURY, A.M., in the chair.

The meeting was called to order at 10.45 A. M.

The following members were present:—

George E. Ellis, Edward E. Hale, George F. Hoar, Nathaniel Paine, Stephen Salisbury, P. Emory Aldrich, Samuel A. Green, Elijah B. Stoddard, James F. Huunewell, Egbert C. Smyth, Edward H. Hall, Albert H. Hoyt, Edward G. Porter, Charles C. Smith, Edmund M. Barton, Thomas L. Nelson, Lucius R. Paige, Charles A. Chase, Samuel S. Green, Justin Winsor, Henry W. Haynes, Solomon Lincoln, Andrew McF. Davis, J. Evarts Greene, Henry S. Nourse, William W. Rice, Robert N. Toppin, Henry H. Edes, Grindall Reynolds, Edward Channing, Frank P. Goulding, James P. Baxter, Thomas Chase, A. George Bullock, G. Stanley Hall, John M. Merriam, William E. Foster, Hamilton A. Hill, John F. Jameson, Charles P. Bowditch, Edwin D. Mead, Calvin Stebbins, Francis H. Dewey, Charles J. Hoadly.

The PRESIDENT.—“I take pleasure in reading a letter which I have received from the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, our senior member. It is a most agreeable evidence of his continued interest in the prosperity of the Society” :—

NEW YORK, 25 April, 1892.

STEPHEN SALISBURY, Esq.,

My dear Mr. President:—

Your kind letter of the 19th inst. reached me just as I was leaving home last week. I am really sorry to be absent from the Semi-Annual meeting of the American

Antiquarian Society, and I thank you sincerely for assuring me that my attendance would be peculiarly welcome. But I am proposing to extend my journey as far as Washington, and must abandon all idea of being with you. It would give me pleasure to be recognized once more by the Society as its senior member, and to express personally the interest and pride which I take in their proceedings.

Pray present my best wishes and kindest regards to the members, and accept them for yourself.

Yours, very truly,
ROBT. C. WINTHROP.

As a part of the Report of the Council, NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., read biographical sketches of the following-named deceased members:—DOM PEDRO, former Emperor of Brazil; JOHN E. MASON, M.D., of Washington, D. C.; and JOHN GEORGE METCALF, M.D., of Mendon, Mass. He also announced the death of Mr. CHARLES B. SALISBURY, of Little York, N. Y.

In continuation of the report, Rev. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D., read an essay upon “The History of the Earth in Libraries and Museums.”

The report of the Treasurer, NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., was submitted in print.

The report of the Librarian was read by Mr. EDMUND M. BARTON.

Dr. G. STANLEY HALL said:—

“I move that the report of the Council be accepted and referred to the committee of publication. I think it a very rare opportunity for men somewhat younger than Dr. ELLIS to listen to a report conveying in relatively brief compass the verdict of a life unusually rich and of a nature unusually gifted, about these fundamental problems of life. It stimulates the ambition of younger men with reference to the object of all learning and culture. To see how all these conflicting literary, scientific and religious controversies of the present day have affected such a mind, what deposit they have left and what aggregate result they have

brought in its maturest years and in full possession of its power, is a very great privilege, and I think the Society ought to be congratulated on a paper which deals with these profound questions. But as a very modest worker in the field of science, I wish to add one single word to the drift of that paper. It seems to me that those who work in specially limited fields, as I do, and as many others do, have a horizon and a perspective for which Dr. ELLIS does not give us credit. Most zealous scientific men, most who have made an original contribution to the sum of the world's knowledge, have a conviction that the universe is lawful to the core, and that it is animated at the bottom by a principle of love and good will toward man, the highest product of nature. It seems to me that clearly and distinctly over and above all those distractions which Dr. ELLIS deals with and with which he has more or less difficulty,—over and above all these, this is the thought that is dawning in the very heart of science and which is certain to make it, in a very few decades, the teacher of men with regard to religious truth, just as it is now with regard to natural truth. The mediating standpoint is at hand. The beginnings of this new departure are already visible. You see it for instance in the movement in France known as the 'New Christianism,' and the 'New Idealism.' We see there in the very heart of that country to-day, the literary and scientific, the roots of a deeper faith than perhaps the world has ever known, animating men, not professionally religious, to a zealousness in the belief in the ideal and of the moral and ethical good which the human race has cherished at its highest points, a uniformity of zeal which to my mind is an entirely new note in the modern movement of the scientific and literary world. Not only that, but in the field of science, especially in those intimate departments of it which treat the border-line between mind and matter, the higher biology and anthropology, we find a conviction, a faith, which not only finds spirit and life in one great source

at the bottom of the world, but which goes far beyond that and which sees in immanence on the one hand—that which Dr. ELLIS calls the egg—and transcendence, his dove, on the other, these two extremes which have been called the poles of human thought, not diversity but unity only. Thus the best scientific men, those who work in this field, are—I believe I am not misrepresenting them—kindled with the faith that a new unity is to come out of things and is already apparent, which shall be neither immanence nor transcendence exclusively, but which shall be one in both, as the Old Testament lies hid in the New and the New reveals the Old. It shall bring men's thoughts together, with a perspective which brings out these local truths and into a concurrence which the world has not seen, in a monism just as important to faith and as stimulating to science as it is to literature and religion, and which will mark as important an epoch in the history of human thought as did monotheism in the old sacred days of its first inception. The old tortured and tortuous and distracted dualism of Huxley, Tyndall and their contemporaries, is not the standpoint of the newer lines of science. It is purely because Dr. ELLIS ignores this that his conclusions seem to me to lack not only relief and perspective but fundamental faith in unity, law and love."

DR. ELLIS:—“I was able to read but a third of my manuscript. I accept and recognize the point which DR. HALL has stated, and which if he shall ever read the whole of my manuscript in print he will find I have not passed without recognition.”

The report of the Council was then accepted.

DR. STANLEY HALL, LL.D., read the following sketch of a plan for improving the usefulness of the Library:—

The writer of the report of the Council for 1883, soon after the lamented death of DR. Haven, discusses the question—

“ * * * * * How far the Society is coming short of the high ideal which it ought in some way to attain, and in

danger of losing its position of leadership among the great institutions of the kind in our country * * * * *.

“ * * * * * The strict line of duty of the painstaking librarian in so large an institution as ours, and the faithful discharge of it, may well fill the measure of an honorable ambition for a useful life. We want, in addition, not instead, the devoted service of a man of high education, of intellectual power and leadership, somewhat known already, and with promise of growth and development. The title by which his office shall be known is immaterial—Director, Superintendent, Regent, Censor, Rector. By whatever name known, his office must be to maintain, by his scholarship, his intellectual presence and dignity, his love of and devotion to the studies of this Society, his high personal character, and his relations to scholars, the standards of influence and authority which Mr. Haven set up. Competent to represent the Society at the gatherings and conventions of scholars abroad, he must have the qualities of personal magnetism which make personal association and co-operation agreeable, and receive scholars at the library with a scholar's welcome * * * * *.

“ * * * * * There would seem few fitter objects to-day, within the realm of learning and scholarship, to bring to the attention of rich and liberal men, than the endowment of this Society with what might be termed a ‘Rector's Fund’ of fifty, sixty, or seventy-five thousand dollars, the income of which, with some small measure of private resources, would enable a genuine and enthusiastic man of high qualifications, to devote himself to maintaining, even extending, the reputation of the Society for high attainments in broad and liberal studies, as well as for the safe keeping and orderly arrangement of articles deposited in its vaults and alcoves * * * * *.”

Three years later, in 1886, Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, in accepting the office of president, said as follows:—

“ * * * * * If the Librarian and his assistants are engrossed by the care and increase of such collections * * * we need some person who shall direct and pursue the original investigations for which, in part, the Society was established,—such a person as Mr. Haven was, such a person as George P. Marsh would have been, if he had lived to come home and pursue his studies in his old age.

To a fund for the salary of a Secretary of Publication and Research should be added an increase of our present means for publication. Without something of this sort, the Society cannot maintain its old place at the head of American institutions devoted to its special objects. It cannot even long maintain a respectable rank among the numerous local societies that are springing up; and there is danger that it may in future times itself become an object of antiquarian research * * * *."

Since these opinions were expressed, the need they referred to has steadily grown with the growth of the Society, and will continue to become more urgent. An informal meeting of the Worcester members of the Council was, therefore, called by President SALISBURY at his house on November 7, 1891, which was attended by the following members: Stephen Salisbury, George F. Hoar, P. Emory Aldrich, Nathaniel Paine, Samuel S. Green, Charles A. Chase, Edward L. Davis, J. Evarts Greene and G. Stanley Hall. After an expression of opinion by all the members present, a committee consisting of G. Stanley Hall, George F. Hoar, Samuel S. Green, Nathaniel Paine and Stephen Salisbury, was chosen to act as a sub-committee to report to the Worcester members of the Council. Their report, as revised and approved, is as follows:—

The American Antiquarian Society has never been in a better condition in all its departments than it is at present. The Library and collections in the hall are steadily increasing in extent and in value. The Librarian, Mr. Barton, whose industry and courtesy are worthy of high praise, makes the collections of the Society not only accessible to the public but useful to the members of the Society, as never before. An excellent card-catalogue, by Miss Robinson, is well on the way toward completion. The meetings of the Society, held twice a year, have never been more largely attended, or more interesting, profitable and delightful to the members. The character of the papers issued under the direction of the Committee of Publication is very high,

and will bear comparison with those of any other similar institution, or with those which the Society has published in former times.

The present condition and outlook make it the duty of the Society to make some new provisions for the security of its possessions, for increased facilities in their use, and for saving the President, Library Committee and Librarian from a great and steadily increasing burden of labor and responsibility far in excess of anything that has been imposed upon either hitherto, or that was contemplated by the early plan of the Society.

It is also clearly desirable that at the same time the Society should make its material more useful in the promotion of the objects for which it was founded. We have much unpublished and unedited matter, a great deal of it known, and probably a great deal of it unknown to anyone, which, as it now exists, is of no use to any save those who are able to visit the Library in person. The Committee are, therefore, unanimous in the conviction that the Society should itself cause to be made public some of the rich material in its possession, under the direction of a well-trained historical scholar, who should devote his time to this work and who should be able not only to edit, but to draw from his material such deductions in the way of historical truth as it may warrant.

We are convinced that a faithful and industrious scholar, working under the direction of the Society itself, and having access to the Library under its rules, might make, from time to time, very important contributions to American history and antiquities which would result in great credit to the Society and tend much to the advancement of the ends for which it was founded. This would in no wise diminish the value or interest of the work done by members of the Society, or diminish the interest in its regular meetings, or change anything whatever in its present organization or customs. All these ends we desire in this way to

confirm, enhance and enlarge. We believe that while increasing the value of our published contributions we might also, in this way, find it desirable to add book notices and other matter which would make the Proceedings, or some additional publication, more eagerly and extensively sought, and would bring additions to the funds of the Library, enlarge our exchange and subscription list, and bring from publishers additions to the Library without cost to the Society, and which would help to fill the many gaps often mentioned in its collections.

Such an officer should also be at the command of the President and Council, or any special committee, for occasional and extraordinary services requiring investigation or other services of a like character, to aid and relieve them in the discharge of their important duties. Such an officer should be appointed by the Council, with a suitable and appropriate title, to be by it determined, and removable by it. He should receive such salary and perform such duties as the Council, or a committee appointed for that purpose, may from time to time prescribe. His duties, till otherwise determined, should be as follows:—

1. To investigate such subjects as shall be prescribed from time to time by the Council, or a duly authorized committee thereof, and to report his results to the Council which shall be disposed of as directed by the Society and which shall be its property.

2. He could with the approbation of the Council, or a special committee thereof, have under him assistants whose work he should direct, but who, like him, should be in all respects subject to the rules and regulations prescribed for the use of the Library: but he should not be required to give instruction, nor does this Report contemplate the development of any school of history, nor the direction of the studies of pupils.

3. He should perform such other duties as may be required of him by the President, or the Council, or its committee, and should devote himself to advancing in all practicable ways the interests of the Society and to enlarging its usefulness.

No action upon this report is requested or expected at this time. It is presented more as a suggestion and to place on record the sentiment of the Committee, as to a desirable direction of enlarging the usefulness of the Society at some future time, should its means permit.

G. STANLEY HALL.

GEO. F. HOAR.

SAMUEL S. GREEN.

NATHL. PAINÉ.

STEPHEN SALISBURY.

The RECORDING SECRETARY *pro tem.*, in behalf of the Council, presented as candidates for election to membership the names of —

BENJAMIN APTHORP GOULD, LL.D., of Cambridge.

Mr. REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, of Madison, Wis.

Ballots being taken, these gentlemen were duly elected.

Mr. WILLIAM E. FOSTER, of Providence, R. I., read a paper on "Some Rhode Island Contributions to the Intellectual Life of the Last Century."

Mr. HAMILTON A. HILL, of Boston, read a paper upon "The Sojourn of Thomas Coram in Boston and Taunton." He also presented a copy from the archives of the Society, of a letter from John Davenport and others to the First Church in Roxbury, with the following comments: —

"At the meeting of our Society in Worcester last autumn, my attention was called by Prof. Dexter to a letter preserved in our collections (Curwen Papers, vol. v., p. 103), written by John Davenport, James Allen and James Penn, elders of the First Church, Boston, soon after the removal of Mr. Davenport thither from New Haven. It is one of the Roxbury Papers, and bears the following endorsement, in the handwriting of our founder, Isaiah Thomas: '(Original) Letter from the Rev. John Davenport of New Haven, To the Rev. Pastors [Elliott] and Bretheren of the Chh. in Roxbury. probably about 1664.'

"The New Haven Church objected most strenuously, to Mr. Davenport's withdrawal from its pastorate in order to the acceptance of a call from Boston ; and after his departure, and when he sent for the customary letter of dismission and recommendation, the letter which he received was much more of a protest than a dismission, and if its contents had been fairly communicated to the Boston Church, all further proceedings under the call would have been stopped forthwith. An influential minority was already opposed to his coming, and if the views of the New Haven Church had been made known, this minority would have been changed to a majority. This being the case, Mr. Davenport, and Mr. Allen who was to be associated with him in his ministry in Boston, resorted to the very extreme measure of suppressing the New Haven letter, and substituting for it another, in which every expression of hostility to the proposed change was omitted, and a few sentences which gave a qualified and conditional dismission, were presented to the Church as the original document, the name of Mr. Street, who had been Mr. Davenport's colleague at New Haven, having been subscribed to it. On this fraudulent letter, Mr. Davenport was publicly received into the membership of the First Church, Sunday afternoon, November 1, 1668, by the ruling elder, Mr. Penn ; and on the 9th of the next following month, Mr. Davenport and Mr. Allen were ordained and installed, the one as pastor, the other as teacher.

"A few months later, Mr. Street visited Boston, and the truth about Mr. Davenport's letter of dismission became known. 'It became discourse in the Towne that the letter read in the Church of Boston was not the whole sent from the Church of New Haven but part thereof, nor indeed the thing itself conteyned in the said letter.' Elder Penn appointed a meeting of the Church immediately after the lecture, Thursday, June 17, 'to remove scandalous reports raised against the Church.' At this meeting, Mr. Penn

and Mr. Allen 'cleared all the brethren of the Church from having any hand in it [the letter], and also Mr. Davenport from any guilt therein.' On the next lecture day, there was a conference at the house of Mr. Hezekiah Usher, to probe the matter still further, and with the following result: 'The elders labouring to convince Mr. James Allen of his iniquity in dealing deceitfully about the letter from New Haven in saying Mr. Davenport was innocent about that matter, he acknowledged that Mr. Davenport knew the matter as much as himself and his uncle, and that he had sinned in soe saying, this confession was made before Mr. John Allen, Mr. Danforth of Roxbury, Mr. Increase Mather and Mr. Stoughton.' On Sunday, June 29, a statement prepared by Mr. Davenport was read in church; he disclaimed all personal responsibility for the substitute letter, saying that Mr. Penn and Mr. Allen had planned it, and his son, John Davenport, Jr., had written it, and he closed with these words: 'My hope is that as God hath made hereby discoverie of the spirits of soe many that he will issue the whole in giving repentance, unto some for their harsh and wrong censures and reproaches, and in vindication of his own honour, and the name of his servants who did what is done to good ends and in true simplicity and faithfulness according to their present light in the sight of God.'

"On the 15th of July, Mr. Allin of Dedham, and sixteen other ministers, united in a very plain-spoken and faithful letter, a 'testimony' they called it, 'against the scandall given by the present elders of the first Church of Christ in Boston, by their fraudulent dealing about the letters sent from the Church in New Haven.' A partial copy of this letter is in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and it is printed in full in the History of the Old South Church, Vol. I., pp. 84-87. At a church meeting, August 20, the First Church appointed a committee to 'draw up a letter in answer to the letter sent from Dedham

Church, enquiring after the proceeding of the Church about the New Haven letter.'

"The pastors of the Roxbury Church, Mr. Eliot and Mr. Danforth, sympathized with the minority in the First Church, and Mr. Davenport and his associate were evidently anxious to conciliate them and to retain their Christian confidence. Hence the letter addressed to them which is in our collections, and a copy of which, by the courtesy of Mr. Barton, I am able to present herewith. It was written, in all probability, before Mr. Street's arrival in Boston, June, 1689, and after the meeting of the second council, April 2, 1689, called to consider the question of forming the Third or South Church. This body, Mr. Davenport and Mr. Penn refused to recognize, saying in reply to a communication from it: 'I doe not see that you are an orderly councill.'

"Reverend and Beloved in the Lord Grace Mercy & Peace
bee multiplied from God the Father and our Lord Jesus
Christ.

"As we desire and earnestly endeavour according to the measure of Grace wee have received to have Consciences void of Offence to God and all Men soe it is our Solicitous care that our Practises may be without Just Blame to Jew or Gentill especially that they may be without suspition of Evill to any of the Churches of Christ. Wee are therefore constrained thus farr att present to speake for our selves unto you our Deare Bretheren that you would bee sober & distrustfull about any reports that may be bruited concerning our selves to the Prejudice of any concerne of Christ labouring with us or of our selves in the heartes & affections of such who are Deare to Christ and Justly Valued by us. Wee hope it will appeare in due time that it is not for our owne but a labouring interest of the Kingdome of Jesus Christ wee are striveing & contending, his Authority in a particular Church, a concerne of as great moment as ever was in hazard in these Churches wth other Churches will quickly find themselves engaged about (if there be any of the first love remaining to it) & as much afflicted for as our selves. If we may intreat that there be an open Eare to what we are

ready & willing (upon your desire to know the Reasons of our proceedings thus far) to communicate we shall acknowledge it as your Christian Tendernes to us Nor is it more yⁿ equall, for it is a Ruled Case in Cannon law that y^r action of both parties should fully be understood and as the wise man hath laid it downe. Hee that is first in his owne case is just, then cometh his Neighbour and searcheth him out And againe hee that answereth a Matter before hee heareth it, it shall be folly & shame to him. Wee doubt not If it shall bee desired & we may be Candidly heard, that we shall Evince ou^r Carriage to the first Counsill & y^r advice as alsoe that onto the last Messengers from seavall Churches To be noe other then what our love & loyalty to Christ as Sole King and Law-giver to his Church did oblige us to doe That noething might bee admitted by us that hee hath not appoynted or will approve. Wee doe owne Counsells rightly called and regularly proceeding to be an ordinance of God And that the Churches may desire to understand the reasons of our Publicke actions & wee are bound by virtue of our communion with you to give a Brotherly account which wee for our parts are most willing & ready to doe. Nor have the contrary by our wordes or actions been manifest as may more evidently by our answer when desired appeare. In the meane time lett not your heartes be alienated from your Brethren some of which are not among the least who have jeopardized their lives with you & for you when the common interest

among us was in hazzard.

enemies hope for & our friends

for us we may be led into all truth

Brotherly love may continue

[torn out]

and be increased among us.

“Wee are your loveing Bretheren in
the Fellowship of the Gospell.

“John Davenport senior

“James Allen

“James Penn”

A letter from Hon. JOHN D. WASHBURN, accompanying his gift of five hundred copies of the Swiss Pact of 1291, was read by Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN.

The SECRETARY *pro tem.* presented a paper and map from PHILLIPP J. J. VALENTINI, Ph.D., on "Columbus's Landfall at San Salvador."

On motion of Dr. GREEN, all the papers which had been presented were referred to the committee of publication.

On motion of Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH, it was voted "that Vice-President HOAR should be empowered to represent the Society at any meetings of learned bodies which he may attend during his contemplated visit to Europe."

Dissolved.

CHARLES A. CHASE,

Recording Secretary pro tempore.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

IN accordance with Article V. of the By-laws, the Council present their semi-annual report for the six months ending April 1, 1892. Since the annual meeting in October last, nothing of special interest has occurred in the affairs of the Society, calling for mention at this time.

The reports of the Treasurer and the Librarian, presented herewith as part of the report of the Council, will give information as to the general affairs of the Society, and especially as to the condition of the finances, and the library.

Two American members and one foreign member have died during the past six months: Dom Pedro, late Emperor of Brazil; John G. Metcalf, M.D., of Mendon, Mass., and John E. Mason, M.D., of Washington, D. C.

As full biographical notices have already appeared in various publications in regard to the late Emperor, it is not deemed necessary to present an extended notice at this time.

Dom Pedro II. de Alcantara was born at Rio de Janeiro, December 2, 1825, and was the son of Dom Pedro I. of Braganza and Bourbon (King of Portugal and Brazil), and of Leopoldina, Archduchess of Austria. Brazil having declared itself independent in 1822, Dom Pedro I. was proclaimed constitutional Emperor, and four years later, abdicated the throne of Portugal in favor of his infant daughter, Donna Maria de Gloria. In 1831, having grown weary of the strong revolutionary tendencies of the Brazilians, he abdicated that throne also, in favor of his son, then only five years of age. A Council or Regency administered the government until May, 1840, when Dom Pedro was declared of

age though only in his fifteenth year. The young Emperor had received the best education, and care had been taken to make him worthy of the high position he was to occupy. In 1843, he was married to Princess Theresa Christiana Maria, sister of Francis I., late King of Naples. From this union there were four children, of whom only one survives him, Isabelle, wife of Comte D' Eu, son of the Duc de Nemours of the French house of the Bourbon and Orleans line. In 1852, Dom Pedro assisted in the overthrow of the dictator Rosas of the Argentine Republic, and thereby acquired not only an extension to the boundary of his Empire, but the free navigation of the Rio de La Plata, a great advantage to the business interests of the country. The most important event of his reign was the issuing of an imperial decree in 1871 for the gradual but total abolition of slavery in Brazil. Other enactments of a like nature were made afterwards, and in 1880, during the absence of the Emperor, the Crown Princess Isabelle, then acting as Regent, freed all the remaining slaves by royal proclamation.

In 1860, Dom Pedro travelled in all parts of his Empire, making himself familiar with the wants of his people, and in 1871, made an extended tour in Europe. He was accompanied by the Empress, and was with her the recipient of many honors and attentions, but as a rule declined such public demonstrations as are usually paid to royalty, preferring to travel as a private gentleman. In 1876, he visited the United States to attend the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia, and also visited the principal cities of the country both North and South. He was specially interested in studying the various institutions of the United States, industrial, benevolent and social. While in this country, the Emperor visited Boston, and an invitation was extended to him to visit the rooms of this Society at Worcester, but other engagements prevented his acceptance. He afterwards visited Europe again, making a most favorable impression for his energy, scientific zeal and public spirit.

Dom Pedro had the reputation of being one of the most enlightened sovereigns of his time, and he was endeared to his own people and commanded the respect of all civilized nations. While Emperor, great advances were made in the material civilization of Brazil. Railways were constructed, ocean commerce promoted, and the great river of the Empire was opened to steam communication. Schools were established, and much done for the intellectual growth and welfare of the people. Dom Pedro was a man of irreproachable character, great intelligence, cultivated tastes, of polished manner and a patron of the arts and sciences. He was a believer in progress, and a patriot whose first thoughts were for his country and not for self.

He was crowned Emperor July 18, 1841, his reign lasting nearly half a century, and terminating with the declaration of a Republic, November 15, 1889, when he was banished from the country with all the members of the royal family. Dom Pedro went to Lisbon with his family, and later to France where he spent the remaining years of his life in the neighborhood of Paris. The Empress, overcome by the cares and anxiety of these critical times, died shortly after their banishment from Brazil.

Dom Pedro died at Paris December 5, 1891, at one o'clock A. M., and his body, after lying in state at the church of the Madeleine, was taken to Lisbon for burial. He was elected a member of this Society, April 28, 1858.

John George Metcalf died at his residence in Mendon, Mass., January 12, 1892, at 5 P. M. He was born in Norfolk, now a part of Franklin, Mass., Sept. 10, 1801, and graduated from Brown University in 1820. He studied medicine in Franklin, and in 1826, moved to Mendon, where he practiced for over fifty years. He was a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society, and at one time served as Vice-President, and was one of the founders of the Thurber Medical Society of Milford, Mass. At the

time of his death, he was the oldest living member of the Worcester County Medical Society.

Very soon after his settlement in Mendon, he became interested in town affairs, and for nearly fifty years acted in some official capacity. For a quarter of a century he was town treasurer, resigning that office in his 84th year, at which time complimentary resolutions were adopted by the town. He was a School Committee man for about forty years, and for many years was practically manager of the town schools. In November, 1857, he was elected a State Senator for the Southeast District of Worcester County, as a republican, in opposition to the late Hamilton B. Staples, who was the democratic candidate, being the first election for Senator under the amendment to the Constitution ratified by the people in May of the same year. He was re-elected in the following year. For many years he held several town offices at once, and was a member of most of the important committees of the town for a period of fifty years or more. His great interest in the town, and the respect and confidence in which he was held by his fellow-citizens caused him to be selected to preside at the Bi-Centennial Celebration in 1867, at which time he gave an address of welcome.

During the late Civil War, Dr. Metcalf was one of the most patriotic of Mendon's citizens, giving a great deal of time to raising money and recruits, and in securing relief for the families of the soldiers who had died in service. His interest in the war was so great that it caused him to make a large collection of newspaper cuttings, and to preserve letters and other manuscript matter relating to it. These collections, which were begun at the first intimation of the impending conflict, are contained in fifty-six thick octavo volumes, which after the war were presented to the American Antiquarian Society by Dr. Metcalf, and now form a valuable and important part of our historical matter relating to the war. The volumes are entitled:—"The

Irrepressible Conflict; a Scrap Book of the Great Rebellion of 1861, By John G. Metcalf, M.D., Member of the American Antiquarian Society, the New England Historic-Genealogical Society and the American Social Science Association."

Dr. Metcalf was a religious man, and was deeply interested in the Unitarian Society of Mendon, serving for many years as Superintendent of its Sunday-School. He was one of the early Abolitionists, and when the Free-Soil party was formed, was active in its work, and has been identified with the Republican party since its organization. The town records show abundant evidence of his anti-slavery and anti-rebellion sentiments, in the numerous resolutions of a patriotic nature proposed by him. He was a member of the Masonic fraternity, and at one time was Master of Montgomery lodge at Medway, since removed to Milford, Mass. Dr. Metcalf compiled the "Annals of the Town of Mendon, 1659-1880," which is a volume of over seven hundred pages published by the town, and which contains a vast amount of facts in relation to the town and its early residents. He also prepared the notice of Mendon in the "History of Worcester County," published in 1879, by C. F. Jewett & Co. He was elected a member of this Society, April 24, 1867, and was in the habit of attending its meetings till advancing years prevented. At the meeting of April, 1871, he acted as Recording Secretary *pro tempore*.

Dr. Metcalf retired from active practice of his profession in 1886, and for the last five or six years of his life, owing to the infirmities of old age had become somewhat of an invalid, and for about two years had not left his house. He was most highly respected by his fellow-citizens, a man of great strength of character, of honest convictions which he was not afraid to express, of studious habits and greatly interested in historical studies. It is said that although very decided in his views, he had the faculty of

seldom making enemies; that he was especially fond of young people, and that there was hardly one in his neighborhood who did not often ride with and visit him. As a Christian gentleman, and a valued member of our Society, we are glad to pay this brief tribute to his memory.

John Edwin Mason, of Washington, D. C., was elected to membership in this Society April 28, 1869. He was born in Petersham, Mass., September 28, 1831, and was the son of Luther (born at Greenwich, Mass.) and Persis (Haskins) Mason. Most of his education was obtained at New Salem Academy in which he always maintained a deep interest, being for many years president of the Alumni Association. After leaving the Academy, he went to New Haven, Conn., where he was engaged for a time in literary and newspaper work, and was successful in both.

Later in life he was a civil engineer, residing in Manchester, N. H., where he made a good record in that profession. He surveyed the State of New Hampshire and made many of the maps as they exist to-day, also publishing several county maps.

At the breaking out of the late civil war, he enlisted in the Ninth New Hampshire regiment, and served as a lieutenant of that regiment and in various other capacities in the army till 1864, when he was discharged on account of physical disabilities. He was at one time acting on the staff of General Samuel D. Sturges as assistant adjutant general, and left the service with the rank of captain. After the war he returned to Manchester, remaining there a short time, but finally settling in Washington, and studying medicine at Georgetown University, where he received the degree of M.D. in 1868; but he did not actively practice his profession although he was at one time examining surgeon for the pension office.

He was a prominent member of the Masonic and Odd

Fellows fraternities, also of the Grand Army of the Republic and the Order of the Loyal Legion, the New Hampshire Medical Society and the New Hampshire Historical Society. He was a member of All Souls (Unitarian) Church at Washington, and interested in its welfare. In politics he was a strong republican, and was often active in campaign work.

On his election to membership in the Antiquarian Society in a letter to Rev. Alonzo Hill, D.D., the Recording Secretary, he said :

“ It will be my aim to render myself in some way worthy of the trust confided in me, and become useful to the Society, in all ways that lie in my power. My leisure time has been occupied in the last fifteen years, in making collections and reading and studying antiquarian subjects, and my taste and inclinations lead me to still farther pursue such investigations in my own humble way.”

Dr. Mason died at Washington, D. C., March 5, 1892, at 8 o'clock A. M. His funeral was under the charge of the Masons, Odd Fellows and Grand Army organizations, who held appropriate services at his grave in Arlington National Cemetery. He leaves a reputation for great native strength of character, was of a very genial disposition, full of fun and good humor, and commanded the respect of all who knew him.

Dr. Mason was a worker, very enthusiastic, of great energy, and entered into the work of the organizations with which he was most intimately connected with a determination to do his full share in carrying out their objects.

At the time of his death he was a clerk in the pension office, and had previously been connected with the General Land Office at Washington. He bequeathed his library to the Odd Fellows Literary Association of Washington, and five hundred dollars to All Souls Church of the same city for the erection of a tablet to his memory as a former trustee of the Church.

Since the foregoing notices of deceased members were written, the Council have received the information for the first time, of the death of Mr. Charles B. Salisbury, who died nearly four years ago.

Charles Babcock Salisbury was born at "Evergreen Terrace," Scott, Cortland Co., N. Y., August 20, 1821, and was the son of Nathan and Lucretia (Babcock) Salisbury.

After leaving school, he prepared himself for entering Union College, N. Y., in the class of the second year, but some of his school-mates having gone to Oberlin College, Ohio, he decided to go to that institution. Not being pleased, however, he remained but a short time, and having a strong desire to see more of the country west of Ohio, he made an extended tour through the West, and became especially interested in the Archaeological history of that part of the country. He was for a time somewhat broken in health and did not return to college studies as he had anticipated. In 1850, Mr. Salisbury was appointed assistant in Analytic Chemistry in the State laboratory of New York, under the State geological survey, and retained that position for about four years.

During the years from 1858 to 1861, he was engaged in connection with his brother, Dr. James H. Salisbury (now of New York City), in exploring the earthworks and mounds of the Ohio Valley. He opened many mounds, obtained numerous valuable relics and implements and also made surveys and drawings of the ancient earthworks. In 1862-3, Mr. Salisbury and his brother presented to the Antiquarian Society valuable manuscripts with several illustrative drawings. One is entitled, "Ancient Pictographic or Symbolic Rock and Earth writings, in Licking, Fairfield, Belmont, Cuyahoga and Lorain Counties, Ohio," another, "Ancient Monuments and Inscriptions on and near the Summit between the head waters of the Hocking and

Licking Rivers, Ohio." These contributions and others subsequently presented were accompanied by numerous plans and sketches. Special notice of these contributions was made by the librarian (Dr. Samuel F. Haven) in his report of April, 1863. Still farther contributions were made by the brothers Salisbury in 1870, and were considered of such value and importance as to be referred to a special committee consisting of Francis Parkman, J. Hammond Trumbull and Samuel A. Green, who unanimously recommended that portions of the manuscripts be published, with such plans and sketches as seemed necessary to illustrate them. It is to be regretted that the resources of the Publishing Fund, then hardly enough to print the Semi-Annual Proceedings, were insufficient to warrant their publication.

Mr. Salisbury was from early manhood to his later years deeply interested in geological, botanical and archæological investigations, and has left evidence of this in a large collection of minerals, fossils and antiquarian relics. He was a most careful, truthful, and pains-taking investigator, and has made by far one of the most exhaustive surveys of the ancient earthworks and mounds in Ohio.

He was elected a member of the American Antiquarian Society October 21, 1863.

In behalf of the Council,

NATHANIEL PAINÉ.

THE HISTORY OF THE EARTH IN LIBRARIES AND MUSEUMS.

BY GEORGE E. ELLIS.

THE human inhabitants of this globe have assumed the obligation, or engaged in the task of gathering and preserving its whole history in libraries and museums. Literature and Science share the work between them, each with its part well defined. The record is to gather both the physical history of the globe before men peopled it, and that of all that has been done, and of even all that has been thought upon it since our race has been represented here. This is stating in the fullest and most comprehensive terms the object and purpose of libraries and museums. This large statement is wholly consistent with the objects with which we are more familiar as designed to be secured by these collections; such as provisions, and helps for popular education, and for the preservation and increase of knowledge. If we make these noble ends subordinate to the more ambitious aim which has been set forth, it is enough to say that the latter includes the former. It is simply the relation of a whole to its parts. Whatever the size or the fulness of our collections of relics, specimens, books or manuscripts, their interest and value are to be estimated by the contribution which they make to our knowledge of the fortunes of this globe, in its physical constitution, and to the experience of the human beings upon it. Completeness and exactness are the desired objects sought in these collections.

We may regard the world's libraries and museums as a unit, into however many parts distributed. The formation and existence of these collections signify that men have

recognized the purpose that, through literature, monuments and reliques, as certified and illustrated materials, the world shall gather in repositories, its own annals and history, and those of all life upon it, animal and human. This will include all that has occurred in it and upon it; all that has wrought in its own materials and contents; its elemental and physical activities; its origin and its composition; its farthest back developments; its first and its accumulated resources, and the forms of vegetative and of animated life that have succeeded here, with its eras of tranquillity in its order, and of convulsions and catastrophe. These subjects will largely make up that department of literature which we call Science, and will deal chiefly with specimens and reliques in museums.

For the rest, it will be the history of humanity; the fortunes and doings of men; what human beings have been, have done and have striven for, have conceived, believed, said, sung, and even their thinkings and imaginings; man in his immature and savage state and in the stages of civilization; man in his roamings and his habitations, his tribes, his nationalities, his governments, his feuds and warfares; man in every stage and step of his advance and decline, in every art or skill, in knowledge, in progress, in struggle with truth and error, man in his besotted degradation and in the culminations of genius and grandeur. These themes make up the classifications of literature. Whatever apprehensions of the mass and bulk and cumber-someness of that material may appall us, must be met with the reflection that they rightfully belong to the world's library, for that is to be the impartial repository of all that men have adventured, have failed in, or have accomplished.

I recall a pleasant fancy of a wise and honored man who had lived close on to a century of a useful and varied career. He expressed a wish that from the day of his birth thoughtful friends had begun for him, leaving him in his ripening years to continue it for himself, the careful

gathering and preserving, as in a roomy garret of his home, every article of apparel he had ever worn, every toy and plaything of his childhood, every book and picture from which he had learned anything, every scrap of his own writing with memories of his developing mind, the names of companions, and a full record of his discipline in reward and punishment. To this homely preface of his life he might by pen and memory add something of like sort for each day of his career. Then meditating in that garret he would have all the material for learning what life was and meant to him.

Some such a crowded garret, many of them, indeed, are presented to us in our libraries and museums, gathering the history of this earth and its inhabitants. There is, however, this emphatic distinction between the private and the public repository, in the multiplication by millions of the years to be recorded and of the lives and experiences of various races of men. The world's costumes, toys and tools may be disposed in museums; its school-books are for the libraries. Speaking in general terms, we may say—though not without large exceptions—these libraries show a steady advance in the curriculum. Of the world's scholars some few have been precocious beyond their fellows. The most of them have been but dull pupils—though some of these have made additions to the library. Growth and outgrowth in ignorance and knowledge, with all their blunders and tentative efforts for correction, have their places on the shelves. Partial and imperfect relations are over and over again exposed by other one-sided relations. There are at least two, and often many ways of reporting and story-telling. It might seem as if there were one story in the world's history that had only a single side to it, it is the story that Cain killed Abel. But Ritter tells us of a nation, called the Ishudes, inhabiting a metallic mountain in Eastern Asia, who tell the story about their ancestor Cain in exactly the other way, making Abel the

wrong-doer. So we wish our libraries to tell us both sides and, even the hundred sides, of every story, every opinion, incident, contention, strife, quarrel, controversy or war in the world's annals. We gather them all at the risk of contention and open blows on our impartial shelves. The books can stand peacefully side by side, though their writers could not.

Before taking note of the conditions, as desirable, possible, or practicable, of this full conception of the purpose and material of libraries and museums, let us pause a moment on the ideal view, simply as a conception. It is that, though certainly not in one, yet in many, gathered deposits in this world, should be collected, either as literature, or as communicative and intelligibly interpreted relics, all that makes up its history, physically and as the scene of human activity. Written and printed rolls and pages through the medium of language—itself as yet of unexplained and mysterious origin, with due deference to Cadmus—are the vehicles of that history. Language is the one common medium, but it has many alphabets and many forms. For we have to deal with it after the Babel catastrophe had riven its unity and multiplied its tongues, the "confounding" of which we have to harmonize. All the inventions and devices of art are at our service, and they add almost daily some ingenious help. The sun makes exact transcripts for us. Paper and parchment, the pen and the press, are our chief but not our sole dependence. The tablet of clay, the fossil, the impressed brick, the tile, as well as the papyrus roll and the hieroglyph, have their speech and language. The relics of stone, iron, bronze and pottery testify to human hand and brain work.

We meet at once with the full force of its arrest upon our purpose, the question—if this, our intent, to gather for record the complete history of this globe and of man's activity upon it, is not, on the face of it, chimerical, visionary and therefore to be pronounced impracticable, impos-

sible? Let us look sharply at this objection and at the grounds of it. Reversing the poet's saying, that "Life is short and art is long," we remind ourselves that life, as existence, is long, and that art, whether knowledge or experience, is, for the individual, short. We shall be told that the vast reaches of unrecorded time are abysses that we cannot fathom or fill. What happened, occurred, or transpired in them is irrecoverably lost. Obscurity which we cannot hope to penetrate envelopes them. They are in depths which never had light and into which no light can be cast. The solemn, plaintive Psalm of Mortality (the 90th), ascribed to Moses, is the dirge of these uncounted generations, as if even in that far-off age, the earth itself was composed of the bones and dust of humanity. How can we hope to call up by retrospect, these vanished scenes, the incidents and actors in them, and make them as familiar and intelligible to us as if we had had part in them?

This objection may arrest us, but it need not confound us. The task assumed is not to be measured by the competence of a single man, or of many men. It is a work in which thousands of men in many generations are to take their helping parts, with all the resources of intelligence, energy, perseverance and wealth. Yet there have been single men, some of them wise and wide in their learning, whose names are to be read on the title-pages of books called, "A History of the World." This is in fact the underlying intent of those numerous and voluminous compends called encyclopedias. We trace such works in classic times and languages and in the Middle ages, as engaging the abilities and the varied culture of successive scholars. How such enterprises steadily expand in their aims, and their fulness may be noted in the case of the best among the many encyclopedias in our own language. The *Britannica* has appeared in nine editions through a complete century. The first edition was of 1788, in ten volumes; the last, begun in 1875, closed with its twenty-

fourth volume in 1888. And at once plans and materials are in hand for a tenth edition in due time. These are the embryos of our full ideal.

There are two suggestions, which may at least reduce the chimerical aspect of a scheme for the world's historical library. The first suggestion is encouraging so far as it goes. It is that whatever force the objection may offer to the aim of recovering the world's history of the past, it has no application whatever to the present, or the future. From this date onward, we may say, with all assurance, the history of this globe, and of all that occurs and is done upon it will have a daily and a complete record. With electricity for its pen and messages, and inquisitive correspondents and reporters in all lands, the bulletins come from sky, land and sea, and from all the doings of men, alike public and private. Modern resources, activity, ingenuity, enterprise and competition, are so full and varied in their industry, that even the most trivial events are insured a memory.

The other reassuring suggestion is this: the complete history of the earth and of humanity, for our libraries and museums, is already planned and secured in its outlines. The needful task remaining, whatever it may exact, with help or obstacle, is to fill in gaps, to supply deficiencies, to revise and complete existing records. We have assured to ourselves well-tested means and methods for pursuing investigations, applying principles and processes of severe science, as a substitute for free imaginings and credulous fancies. We have theories, some of them good working theories, distinguishable from guesses. We require that these theories, as explanations, be proposed with something more than plausibility, with an antecedent reasonableness, and should be steadily confronted by a parallelism of tested facts. We are thus on our way to the object desired, and we are well furnished and equipped to advance in it. Vacancies in classified shelves, daily receive matter to fill

them. As the world grows older its inhabitants become increasingly inquisitive about its earlier years and epochs. We always better understand what is, when we have learned what went before it—the antecedents of the present. Another suggestion is pertinent here. The quickening and invigorating of the highest human faculties by the wonderful advances of science and positive knowledge, have had their most stirring effect upon the western peoples of the world. Their acknowledgment or assumption that the East was the cradle of the human race has made Oriental lands the most rich and promising fields for exploration and excavation, to bring to the light treasures which have passed into oblivion there. This energetic impulse of western inquisitiveness is thus brought into strong contrast with the mental apathy of Eastern peoples who have been unconsciously living over the entombed monuments of long-past generations, conquered, dispossessed and forgotten.

Some of you may recall a charming and piquant illustration of this apathy of Orientals when confronted by the teasing, ardent inquisitiveness of Western energy, in the pages of Layard. In his second expedition for discoveries among the ruins of Nineveh and Babylonia, forty years ago, he tells us of "the spirit in which Eastern philosophy and Mussulman resignation contemplate the evidences of ancient greatness and civilization, suddenly rising up in the midst of modern ignorance and decay." He gives us a literal translation of a letter written by a Turkish Kadi in reply to some inquiries as to the commerce, population and remains of an ancient city where then lived "the head of the Law."

I will copy and read that letter:

"My illustrious Friend and Joy of my Liver! The thing you ask of me is both difficult and useless. Although I have passed all my days in this place, I have neither counted the houses nor have I inquired into the number of the inhabitants; and as to what one person loads on his

mules, and the other stows away in the bottom of his ship, that is no business of mine. But above all, as to the previous history of this city, God only knows the amount of dirt and confusion that the infidele may have eaten before the coming of the sword of Islam. It were unprofitable for us to inquire into it.

“ Oh, my soul ! oh, my lamb ! seek not after the things which concern thee not. Thou camest unto us, and we welcomed thee : go in peace.

“ Of a truth, thou hast spoken many words ; and there is no harm done, for the speaker is one and the listener is another. After the fashion of thy people thou hast wandered from one place to another until thou art happy and content in none. We (praise be to God) were born here, and never desire to quit it. Is it possible then that the idea of a general intercourse between mankind should make any impression on our understandings ? God forbid !

“ Listen, oh my son ! There is no wisdom equal unto the belief in God ! He created the world, and shall we liken ourselves unto him, in seeking to penetrate into the mysteries of his creation ? Shall we say, behold this star spinneth round that star, and this other star with a tail goeth and cometh in so many years ! Let it go ! He from whose hand it came will guide and direct it.

“ But thou wilt say unto me, Stand aside, oh man, for I am more learned than thou art, and have seen more things. If thou thinkest that thou art in this respect better than I am, thou art welcome. I praise God that I seek not that which I require not. Thou art learned in the things I care not for ; and as for that which thou hast seen, I defile it. Will much knowledge create thee a double belly, or wilt thou seek Paradise with thine eyes ?

“ Oh, my friend ! If thou wilt be happy, say, There is no God but God ! Do no evil, and thus thou wilt fear neither man nor death ; for surely thine hour will come !

“ The meek in spirit (EL FAKIR).

“ IMANN ALI ZADE.”

Having assured to ourselves the purpose of the combined intents and efforts of all inquirers and laborers, to gather in a fulness which shall be, as nearly as possible, exhaustive, the whole history of the earth, in literature and relies,

we must face the conditions and exactions of the scheme. The mass of material, with its ever expanding bulk, we must contemplate as we do the ranges of deep rooted, wide spread and lofty mountains, while we shrink from an analysis detailed, or only general, of the contents. Two searching queries present themselves :

1. Is the scheme desirable on grounds of expediency, fitness, or wisdom?
2. Is the vast conception and design practically possible of being realized?

The first question is prompted by objections not only from the mass and bulk of the material to be gathered and preserved and the cost and care of collection, but also from the quality of very large portions of that material, saddening, humiliating, harrowing, unedifying as it is, in so much of its human elements. It may be asked, why should the world by preserved records and memories, carry on with it, as burdensome and unwholesome material, the relation of all the folly and error and crime, the ignorance, delusions and superstitions, the strifes and passions and enormities of cruelty that enter into its history? Why keep these sad and hateful memories alive? Why not allow each generation of pupils, readers and learners to start with fresh, fair pages, the best assured wisdom and knowledge of the present, as the deposit of experience and results, allowing all the error and wrong of a melancholy past to sink into oblivion?

From all the existing libraries of the world might be selected heaps of volumes which, if our minds could at once take in the impression of their spirit and contents, would oppress us with a pessimistic gloom. The mere waste of time and labor in them and on them, would make the lightest of the woful impressions from them. The inhumanity and cruelty, the dreary heart-weights of superstition and misery, the heavy fetters on mind and spirit to which they so plaintively testify, would overwhelm us with

the consciousness of the bootless struggles which have crushed so many myriads of our race. Why not give them all up to entombment and obliteration, with an inscription of a single word—Regret, or, Silence? Why should the earliest, and indeed some of the latest, in each classified series of volumes on our shelves, in the history of science, religion, and the healing art, record for us the drivel and fatuity of superstition and fable, and the tentative tricks of quackery and empiricism, being in the main experimentings in the ways of committing murder?

This is, indeed, a formidable challenge as to those animated mausoleums called libraries. We know well, even each of us in his own little range, with what impatience of complaint, protest and sarcasm the objection finds utterance from some who would claim intelligence, modified by economy, as to the contents of many existing libraries. A considerable portion of each of them is bluntly pronounced to be "trash," "rubbish," the worthless relics of decay. Doubtless in every prosperous and cultivated community, favored as so many are with large and growing public libraries, if an appeal was made for money to extend the crowded walls, a group of not wholly unintelligent persons might be found who would propose that a committee should go thoroughly through the existing collection, weeding out the antiquated trash and rubbish, if only to make room for fresh material of the same sort. Now most of us might not be indisposed at any moment to assent to an assertion, so often spoken, that there are large numbers of books in libraries which have become, if they were not always, worthless. Yet we should hesitate to put them in the fire. And if we pause to weigh the sentence of *worthlessness*, we should find it necessary to assure some certain standard for the judgment of worthlessness. It is not enough that such volumes should have in them outgrown errors, proved falsehoods, fraud, folly, nonsense, slander and impurity, in all their forms. The utilitarian,

the specialist, the sectarian, the bigot, the partisan, each applying his own standard and test might clean out the building.

Happily, those who are most concerned in gathering, extending and using libraries, heedless of these objections, have quite other tests by which they satisfy themselves, that every scrap and relic and oddity and folly of literature, has its worth, is to be secured and saved, all the world over, for all time. Their scruples are as strong as those of Moslems, against the destruction of the least fragment of inscribed paper, lest it should have on it something from the Koran. And it may be, that this Moslem scruple has, in the long run, compensated in the preservation of literature for the unmeasured loss caused by the Caliph Omar in burning the Alexandrian Library. His plea was, that if the books in their contents agreed with the Koran, they were unnecessary, and if at variance with it, were pernicious. Strangely enough by our collectors the highest value is set on the materials in libraries most exposed to a contemptuous judgment from the unskilled. The records and history of ignorance, with all its mistakes and follies, its bugbears and fallacies, are as instructive to them as the fairest pages of the newest wisdom. It is not only the richest imaginings of poets and sages that "the world will not willingly let die." Old dreams often out-value young visions. The "court fool" was anticipated in his useful functions before the days of kings, and is perpetuated in democracies. In fact, the history of ignorance is ever the best inquisition on uncertified knowledge. There was a grim earnestness, a sternness of conviction and an awful sincerity, in what we call the nursery days, the childhood, of humanity, in its beliefs about the old delusions of possessions, witchcrafts and exorcisms. These are wholly lacking in our modern similar fooleries and phantasies, which seem rather to mark the stage of ass-hood, or donkeydom in our development.

The circumstances under which many notable literary works have been composed give an additional interest to them. The list is a long and an impressive one of books written within prison walls, under all the severities of restraint and loneliness, when the free spirit found its range and solace in large thoughts and lofty communings. The nobler victims suffering in the high service of political and religious enlargement, for free thought—soul-liberty—have beguiled their prison solitude with deep thought and rapt visions. Three notable examples come to the mind. That noble Roman senator, Boethius, marking the date of decay of the world's last empire, and of one of the transitions in great epochs, cheered the gloom of his spirit in prison by writing his *Consolation of Philosophy*. This is notable as being the last production in pure classic latinity, and as quickened by the gleams of the new life coming in with our religion and leaving us to weigh the query—whether, so Christian as he was in thought and spirit, he had knowledge of the new leaven then working in the world, and of any of its Apostles—because he makes no mention of them in words. Sir Walter Ralegh filled his twelve years in the Tower of London by writing in the noble English speech of his day, his *History of the World*. It is noteworthy, that on his pages he quotes, or cites six hundred and sixty printed authorities, to whose works he must have had access directly, or through references made to them by friends. And then come the dreams and visions of the prison life of glorious John Bunyan in his *Pilgrim's Progress*—for which he needed the illumination of but one Book.

Not to those who are concerned in the objects of this Society need argument be offered as to the pronounced worthlessness of any relic and gathering of science or literature. Each of them and all of them help to carry on the earth's history, the record of the birth of knowledge from ignorance, of wisdom from folly, of truth from error

through skilled obstetrics. Bearing in mind, also, that, as we are told, human nature is unchanged, it may be that old follies will reappear, not as ghosts, but as alive for mischief. Vain would be the project by selection, or discrimination, to clear the shelves of the world's library of what is called "trash," much more to apply the winnowing process to what might be pronounced antiquated and useless matter. Of course the limitations of economy and space, and an adaptation to local classes of readers, may well regulate the selections for the shelves of each new library, and the system of exchanges may be availed of to insure these selections. But in no case should there be discouragement or obstacle that somewhere, in some repository, everything of mental product in the whole development of humanity, should find a place. No person of competent judgment will question the doctrine of Panizzi of the British Museum, that everything that has ever been inscribed or printed, book, tract, pamphlet, circular, poster, broadside or flyleaf, may be of service to somebody, at sometime, for some conceivable use.

So much on the first question of our subject—the desirability, expediency, fitness and utility of completeness in the world's library. We come now to our second question—the practical possibility of the completeness of the record of the earth's history in libraries and museums.

Something has already been said as to facilities and progress in that stupendous project—its outlines are drawn, means and methods are indicated, and gaps need to be filled in—with thousands of co-operative workers engaged in it. Let us understand as clearly as possible what the project calls for.

The largest and the most comprehensive classification of the contents, literary and monumental, of our libraries and museums, would dispose them under three divisions of subjects:—

1. The history of this globe, physical, elemental and

phenomenal, antecedent to the appearance and activity of man in it.

2. The history of our own race, in all its stages—created or evolved—its doings and experiences and variations, in their largest compass and their smallest incidents.

3. The relations, actual, imagined or believed, between this globe and the physical universe to which it belongs: and those between its human inhabitants and supernal influences and powers for their help and guidance.

It may hardly be necessary, but I may as well say distinctly, at this point, that what I write and read, especially upon the first and third of these divisions of my subject, is in no sense, in acceptance, in advocacy, or as argument for the opinions and theories to be briefly noted. I recognize them with all that may be offered for and against them simply as they appear in books, making up the contents of our libraries and museums—the world's literature. These opinions and theories are all open and free. In these recent years, they are vitalised and vigorously dealt with. While boldly, perhaps rashly, handled, in their scientific and philosophical relations, they are burdened with most serious bearings on transcendent interests for men.

The writer of a work on either local or general history, is always moved to decide on a beginning from which he shall start. The excellent Thomas Prince, who undertook to write the "New England Chronology," might have greatly increased the value of what he did for us, if he had told us more about the people and events near his own time. But he felt bound to precede New England history with an account of the old Hebrew Patriarchs, and so died, his task unfinished. But those patriarchs were of a modern era compared with the beginnings which engage our curiosity in gathering the earth's history for its library. Slowly but steadily, and with a teasing earnestness, with the advance of the assured methods of science, has grown

the purpose to penetrate the secrets of unrecorded time, far back of the generations of men. Science assumes that whole portion of the great pupilage of learning which concerns the origin and the early eras of this globe, before man was here to leave some rude, prehistoric tokens of himself, and afterwards to begin historic records of his own. The fact being fully certified that the elements of the earth existed and that it rolled on and labored before man was upon it, the beginning for us precedes ourselves.

When a writer has the purpose of fitly preparing a memoir of the life, the career and service, of one who has been of eminent or only humble position upon it, he is reminded that whatever there may be on record by others, concerning his subject, some of the most important and interesting facts about him, as to his early years and his private experiences, anticipate all records, and were known only to himself. The biographer wishes he could have had speech with him, to question him. If happily the subject left an autobiography telling of his early years, the wish is gratified. So for all our prehistoric inquiries, most helpfully comes in what we fitly call the "Autobiography of the Earth." It is as if this globe, with a sort of mute cognizance of its far-off eras, when there was no human observer, scribe, or historian, very considerably left on its surface, or in its interior, some memorials of its early years and education. These memorials prove to be in ciphers, needing a key to interpret them. We gather such as these into museums, and bid science to deal with them. We find that we have here to dispense with chronology, except that of the succession of periods, each of immeasurable length and course. As to the more or the less of the millions of what we call years, that is of no account.

Those of us who are not full experts in this science, and who look up to its teachers, are left at this present date, to take our choice between these alternate origins: either an animated spirit-dove, brooding over the mists of chaos, or,

a marvellously-impregnated egg rolled from the fiery haze of vapor having in it the potency of producing all things. The spirit-dove, or the egg, which was first? Take your choice. It would seem to matter but little, as either could produce the other. The preference at present seems to be for the dove, as that may be infinitely productive, while the egg, however enriched, must be limited and exhaustible. Satisfied or not with that alternative for the origin of things, we must needs accept it till our choice is widened. So our libraries gather from science the material of literature on this subject, and our museums collect the monstrosities, the old clothes, and the discarded relies of the globe. And so it is that our newest books deal with the oldest themes. We can admit the potency within the vitalized elements of that marvellously-impregnated egg so far as material things are involved. We can conceive a mass of misty vapor, disengaged in the abysses of chaos, taking its own course in revolving, compressing, solidifying, heating and cooling, depositing its strata, cracking, blazing and vomiting from its digestive bowels, clothing itself with vegetation, and changing from era to era the relation of its solid and liquid elements. We can conceive of the earth having disposed of one series of its surface products, depositing their remains in strata to be fossilized. Potency is a large term as an energy in that impregnated egg when we think of what it is in a single grain of gunpowder, or in the reserved mystery of electricity. It may be that we would allow that potency to reach even to the generation of animal as well as of vegetable life. But when, within the potency of that egg, we seek, by the processes of evolution, for the generation of conscious human individuality, of intelligence, of conscience, of imagination, of reverential awe and fear, we may find ourselves looking back to the spirit-dove from which to take our start for the beginning and the continuance. Such chickens as Plato, Shakespeare and Newton do not seem to be accounted for. To be sure, books in our

great library tell us how all this was brought about. But of that matter farther on.

And now, having in view the theory, that the creature, or being, who, in due time, was to charge himself with the filial obligation of writing the history of this earth, was himself the product of this impregnated egg, a question of supreme interest to us is, to fix the period and the circumstances when he was himself hatched from it, and became the representative of his generations here. We have to learn how to identify the work of a human hand or brain, by distinguishing it from elemental products. Our scientific teachers remind us that we must be satisfied if we can find and identify relies, objects, tokens of man's presence and agency here, before any skeleton remains of man himself. As there may then have been no undertakers, our earliest human progenitors, like some of our contemporary Indian tribes, instead of committing their dead to burial in the earth, may have packed them on platforms in trees, and so the elements dissolved the remains. Literature waits to make up its books while science gathers human tokens in our museums, and interprets them.

At present, our physicists halt in indecision as to whether man made his first appearance on this globe, in what they define as the Tertiary, or the Quarternary period. Between these two eras they tell us that in the northern hemisphere, islands were wrenched from continents by arms of the sea, and that two land bridges across the Mediterranean to Sicily and Gibraltar were destroyed. The chilling of the hazy atmosphere caused the glacial age, which brought down the northern reindeer as far as the Pyrenees, whose fossilized remains are found there with those of the mammoth, the auroch or bison, the woolly rhinoceros, etc. This reindeer period is pronounced by Cartailhac in his "*Pre-historic France*"— "*the artistic period par excellence* of all prehistoric times. For then, for the first time, man leaves evidence of himself by drawings, carvings, engravings

on those fossils of the once living creatures around him, with a sense of beauty which is astonishing, nor does he forget to draw his own image on them." If this evidence will stand a thorough cross-examination it furnishes a very promising start for man as an artist. Observe, too, how far back of previous knowledge modern science presses our human history. Lord Bacon, the highest of philosophic minds, wrote in his time that "there were only five-and-twenty centuries with which the memory of man is acquainted." We have more than doubled this number of centuries of our acquaintance with man on this earth, and are reading his writings, surveying his monuments, handling his household utensils, and his food, and the coins once in his pockets.

Having got a starting point for the coming of man, through his work on the earth, scientists and historians seemed to be in a fair way for hopefully pursuing the subject. But at this point we were abruptly arrested, startled, shocked, confounded. We had expected to trace our kin through all collateral branches, however mean and humble. We were reconciled to find many strange, eccentric and unpresentable specimens, so long as they could be called in any sense men, human beings. Scientific archaeologists believed they were making satisfactory progress toward dating man's coming and subsequent movements. But the astounding theory presented itself that our race was not begun here by beings known to us as men, in form and feature, hairless, tailless, erect in stature, with at least primary intelligence and endowments. We were to look far behind our human progenitors for our far-off ancestors, and to find no stopping-place in the line of our antecedents, till we come to protoplasm and a bunch of sensitive cellular tissues. Fortunately we have no concern here with that theory, except only to recognize that it compels us to add many new shelves to the world's library of history, to allow a most vigorous and vastly interesting department of literature,—for the trial, the discussion, by *pros* and *cons* of

that method of the production of man. But as we must draw the line somewhere, we insist that the *crania*, the skeletons and the fossils of these our dubious progenitors, apes, monkeys, gorillas and what not, shall be harbored in museums, as not seemly in a library. At present, the missing links in the chain of connection and proof outnumber the visible links, and leave fearful gaps in our history. The theory must have intense interest though bringing a sore perplexity to our genealogists. It may somewhat abate the zeal of some among us who, from pride or curiosity, have been set upon tracing their family trees to the tramps and vagabonds who came over with William the Conqueror, in hope to get to some nearer proximity to Adam.

Leaving the theory to be recognized in our libraries only by the discussions of it, we have enough with which to fill them in tracing the history, the doings and experiences of veritable men, of some sort, from a datable era when the earth had upon it beings whom we call human. We are gathering that library, well begun, and though with long-reaching gaps on its shelves, growing enriched, instructive and overwhelming in bulk and contents year by year. I must leave to your own thoughts and knowledge, without even a glance, survey or summary to call before you the contents of the world's library so far as it contains the history of man and his ways, his experience, achievements and work; his races and his migrations; his adventures and explorations; the tragic and the comic elements and incidents of his life; the dawnings and the effulgence of his genius; the soarings of the loftier minds, and the gropings of dread and superstition; man in his debasement and his glory, in his ambitions and his humiliations; the rise and the fall of empires; the desolations and carnage of war; the gentle heroisms and the fiendish cruelty and torturings for heart and nerve. There is not an adjective used as an epithet in all languages, from the sweetest, liveliest and

most exalting in its import, to the most agonizing and appalling in its horror, that is not applicable to actors and incidents in that burdened history of man.

It might not be easy to assign a precise date when archaeologists, explorers and historians recognized in full the purpose of gathering and preserving the acts and experiences of men on this globe. The purpose was one that might naturally suggest itself unconsciously to curious and inquisitive minds. Then once entertained, even with vague and indefinite outlines, it would as naturally expand, develop and extend itself to meet the conditions and methods for realizing it. One of the relieving and cheering facts revealing themselves to us from the far-back activities and cravings of enlightened minds in Assyria, Egypt, Greece and Rome, is the mention of the private and public libraries, of philosophers, poets, statesmen and monarchs. We are well-nigh incredulous of the numbers assigned to some of them, considering the labor and the cost of material and producing books. Every effort and enterprise for gathering the world's history has been richly rewarded. No obstacle or difficulty has been met by persevering workers, from what might have been apprehended as a sullen unwillingness of the earth to have its secrets penetrated and exposed to the light, and to confuse and baffle the inquirer. On the contrary, so far as dead and silent records can aid, they seem to volunteer what testimony they can give. The circumstances attending the decay and oblivion of the relics of the past have facilitated the work of exhumation and restoration. It might seem as if with a view to aiding us in our search into the ancient annals of the earth, that it had simply covered from the elements many of its monumental and historical treasures, not that they might decay as if buried in graves, but that they might be kindly preserved, ready to welcome an intelligent and trained curiosity when turned upon them. Below the fields and homes of living generations, we have learned to open, not to

graves, but temples, altars, sculptures and paintings, monuments, habitable dwellings, classic and luxurious, even if barbaric in some of their features. If the city of Pompeii, instead of being deeply covered from the air by light ashes and pumice, had been encased, like Herculaneum, with molten lava, we should not have had, from the veiling of two thousand years, those delicate frescos, instruments and implements, artistic and domestic, now gathered in the museum at Naples. For these are as instructive in their suggestions as are the ruts of the chariot wheels in the old pavements, the loaves of bread in the ovens, and the stained rings on the marble counters of the saloons of those days. These are all tokens of an arrested rush of life in play and work, long centuries ago. A somewhat more difficult, but still a richly rewarded task, was that of Layard in the under strata of Assyria and Babylonia. He has reproduced for us the stately palace of Sennacherib. Egypt, and other oldtime lands have illustrated to us the half-credited relations of Herodotus. We are left to infer what sort of men the representatives of our race then were, in thought and in imagination, in fancies and grandeur of conceptions, which expressed themselves in the mythology and symbolism of those massive monoliths and blocks, those temples and columns, those grotesque monsters winged on shoulders and sides, the human-headed bulls and lions, and the garniture of mausoleums and mummy chests. Schliemann, working in the more intellectual and poetic fields of Greece, under a fifth buried stratum, has wrought out for us the richest romance of the past, and has given to the Homeric poems an historical instead of a mythical and legendary import. Each decade of recent years has roused the enthusiasm of scholars by the disclosure on papyrus-roll or parchment-sheets of some precious message of far-away times, as in the signal instance of the Teaching of the Twelve, and Aristotle's essay on the Constitution of Athens. Of books regarded as lost, we know the names

of many, and we know where to look for and how to find and identify them. Accident or search will yet restore some of them.

We are reminded that the thoughtful inspection in a vast museum, of the heterogeneous and miscellaneous collection of relics—the spoils of wide areas of the earth and the races and generations of men, though an instructive, is not an attractive spectacle to all. In some persons it stirs a profound melancholy. The processes of half-decay and of half-defiance of the teeth of time, on the mocking *crania* of barbaric races; the stains and pitchy odor of mummies and their cerements, the wrecks of ancient habitations; the skeletons of monsters, once visible in their devouring tramp and their fierce encounters on the deep-furrowed earth; the humiliated fragments of old regal glory; the trophies of savage warfare, and the mute witnesses to cruelty and agony—these must work deeply on our sensibilities. Nor is the impression wholly relieved by the mingling in of the recovered busts of the old philosophers, sages, poets, orators and emperors, the statues of gods and men and women, the architraves and columns and altars of temples, and the tracings of the exquisite imaginings of mythology. It is the massing and mixing of such incongruous and confusing relics, in repositories like the British Museum, which bewilders and often pains an inspector. It might be better in many cases, to leave such disentombed relics as near as possible to the spots identified with their belongings. Seven of the Egyptian Monoliths were transported and set up in Rome. The Gothic raiders overturned all but two of them. When the Tiber is effectually dredged the spoils will be rich. We can but sympathize with the wish of the rulers of restored Greece that the frieze of the Parthenon may be replaced.

Doubtless it would be feasible, by the means and methods of familiar statistical processes, to learn, approximately, the number of volumes in the world's library,—scattered

in all repositories, public and private. And then a curious calculator might tell us what proportion the number of these volumes bears to the number of the present population of the globe. But a more pertinent inquiry for us is, how far the world's existing library avails toward presenting to us the world's history. Of course, the huge gaps in the collection, answering to periods, incidents, regions, actors and events, causes or consequences, of which we are ignorant, would at once suggest serious limitations, *lacunæ* and deficiencies. Yet this suggestion would soon find partial relief. The elements of likeness or sameness in human nature running with common experiences through the ages, the repetitions and recurrences of causes and events, would allow us to a large extent to draw inferences and generalizations from what is known to us, to indicate probabilities in the unknown. Help and facilities for filling in some gaps are furnished to us in the system of special libraries, classified by subjects. When we speak of the earth's history as gathered in libraries and museums, it is simply our ideal of both repositories as representing a unit in their joint purpose. We cannot, however, imagine that it would be possible, even if it were desirable, that all the materials of such a stupendous collection, should be gathered in one cosmopolitan institution. We are content if, somewhere in the world everything requisite may be found. Recourse, therefore, is wisely had to special collections, each devoted by easy classification to each of the subjects entering into the whole curriculum of knowledge. So we have law, medical and theological libraries; libraries of archaeologists, geographers, and explorers by land and sea; mathematical, astronomical, physiological and botanical libraries, historical and biographical, of each of the arts and sciences, of the drama, of music, of sculpture, of works of the imagination, of fiction and poetry; each sect in religion, each party in polities, may represent its history and distinctive principles on guarded shelves; mechanics,

architecture, chemistry, electricity, optics, steam, may each have an alcove, or an edifice ; constitutional, State, diplomatic, international and patent records will have generous provision. In one or more of these hospitable houses, we may expect to find and be able to trace the alphabet, the starting point, the elements, the *origenes*, the progress and development of each of these departments of knowledge, as it has rolled up its lore. By our present standard of professional qualification it is expected of the foremost men in each specialty, that each shall not only be the master of the present status of his Guild, but also be able to trace its whole development and acquisition. The zeal and information of such specialists will help vastly to completing the record by filling in the gaps in the world's annals. The living astronomer can calculate for us eclipses and transits of all the past eras of the present solar system, and so date the dynasties and battles identified with them.

Parallel with these specialties in the contents of libraries, is the marvellous idiosyncrasy and diversity in predilections and tastes, among collectors and virtuosi, shown in gathering the variety of contents in special museums and cabinets. One has a passion for skulls and skeletons of men and brutes, and fishes and birds ; another is content with spines, teeth or claws ; another gathers historical armor and implements of war, or the chase, or the fishery ; another, tools, implements, and old apparel ; still another, the series of mechanical and surgical instruments. Other and finer tastes are spent on coins, seals and medals, on gems and jewels, on pipes and snuff-boxes, on shells, beetles, butterflies and other insects.

The exuberant fertility of our modern libraries is largely to be accounted to a fact which presses itself most forcibly upon every wide and full reader. This fact is the most strikingly characteristic one among the many differences between the ancient and the modern writers. The ancients worked on original materials, with their own brains, giving

us their thoughts, observings, reflections, freshly minted. All themes were to them new, even if only on the surface, not as yet to be mined. They give us themselves in their writings. Our modern literature is largely a working, over and over, of old material, criticisms, comments, expositions—*re-views*, of previously gathered reflection and experience. We write repeatedly the lives of the elders, the pioneers, in wisdom, learning, enterprise and effort. We interpret the old and revise it for the use of new pupils. Scaliger, Stevens, Casaubon, Lepsius, and their compeers, have in themselves been whole libraries. As Father Chaucer sung:

"For out of the old feldes, as men saithe,
Cometh al this new corne fro yere to yere;
And out of old booke, in good faithe,
Cometh al this new science that men lere."

Shakespeare, in mind and pen, comes to us in a single volume. His commentators and expositors fill another library for us. Curious are the fruits of the industry of mousing critics trying to convict plunderers and plagiarists, when the critics trace a proverb, a witticism, an oracle, or a conceit, back in our literature to the original sayer. And it is the like with the plots in works of fiction, tragedies, etc. The term *duplicates* is much more extensively applicable than merely to two or more copies of the same book in a library. These contested points, this re-thrashed straw, this half-telling, wrong-telling and re-telling of the same story, make the burdens for our shelves. The best motto to be put over them as classified, would be the sentence of Solomon: "He that is first in his own cause seemeth just, but his neighbor cometh and searcheth him." Such are some of the contents of libraries and museums, concerning man, his experiences and doings on the earth.

We come now to the third division of the contents of the earth's historical library—its own relations, actual, imagined or believed, and those of its human inhabitants, to supernal influences and powers.

It might seem to be enough, alike for curiosity and modesty, that men should limit their inquisition for knowledge within their own sphere of earth, its history, and their own history upon it. This might have satisfied, but that there being the heavens over us there is and always has been a science called Astronomy. And ever since at least man, standing with only two of his limbs on the earth, has learned to look upward, he has thought of and listened to those heavens. Those who have pursued this science have not only contributed to the earth's history, but they have also extended the bounds and contents of that history. It was soon learned that this globe does not roll on in its free, individual course, or was dependent solely upon its own resources, physical and elemental. It is lighted, and warmed, and watered, and swayed, by supernal agencies. This fact of eyesight-knowledge has always prompted the question asserting itself as the most serious and momentous above all other themes for men, as to influences, intercourse, messages, reinforcing revealings from the higher sphere to those who live on the earth.

I will venture upon an assertion which may cause surprise, perhaps a doubt, in some who hear it. It is, that the largest section of the whole world's literature in all times, as preserved in libraries—not to speak of the untold amount of it which has perished—is concerned, neither with the physical history of this earth, nor with the merely mundane affairs, works, fortunes and experiences of its human inhabitants, but with a vastly greater theme. That is the relations between this earth with its human stock, and other worlds, other beings, powers and influences in this universe. While the term philosophy may more fitly apply to large portions of this theme—in its many bearings and relations, and to the speculative method of dealing with it, the whole matter is generally classified as concerning religion. As religion—using the word in its most comprehensive sense—it includes all the

thinkings, guessings and believings that enter into it; all mythologies, superstitions, fancies, rites and practices and institutions attaching to it, all discussions and controversies about it. And the matter gathered in the world's historical library on this full theme, as it exceeds, in simple bulk, that on any other subject, has a continuous development and expansion, starting from the earliest ages, engaging all humanity in its interest, and certainly in these, our years, making up the most living and vigorous element of literature for the best furnished minds. The theme embraces a vast extent of subjects on which we neither have nor can expect to attain, any positive, certified knowledge, with tests and confirmations available for the satisfaction of the average convictions of men. It engages, however, as it always has engaged, the profoundest thoughts and feelings of men, often absorbing and prevailing above all their engrossing anxieties about the actualities of their passing lives. It is the field of aspirings, guessings, opinions, fancies, imaginings and believings. From it have come the inspirations for all heroic achievements and enterprises, and the zeal and power of endurance under all tests of torture and martyrdom. The visions of prophet, seer and poet, the wealth of art, the skill of sculptor and painter and of the masters of architecture in fane and temple and cathedral, of symphony and harmony, of lyric and chant, all minister to it. Homer, Virgil, Dante, and Milton engage the unseen powers and mysteries to impart sanctity to their sublimities. Shakespeare, alone, of the peerage of the world's mightiest, though by no means dull to supernal agencies, and playing freely with sprites and spectres, is more content to deal with the human and the earthly in character and action.

Well it would be if the super-earthly, and the so-called, religious element in all literature taught us only of what ministers to inspiration and edification. But in it we find the sources and materials of humiliation and debasement, of

the most bitter animosities and strifes, which have engaged the most malignant and diabolical passions of men. Disputations in words, polemics and controversies on subjects wholly beyond the range of certified knowledge, have wrought themselves into wars more devastating and bloody than those waged for empire. The material of all this conflict still exists, and the sparks are still beneath the banked fires in our libraries. But the modern additions to that portion of our literature are animated by a spirit milder than that of former times. The change is wrought mainly by the influence of what is so vaguely and confusedly known as Agnosticism, which bids us not to quarrel or fight about matters of which we have no knowledge. But of that more, farther on.

Physical science has been steadily making known to us the reality, and some of the laws, methods and conditions of the relation between this globe and the universe to which it belongs. This physical teaching is positive, demonstrated, assured ; it engages discussion and theorizing, but not ill-temper, or passion. But the matter of religion penetrates to deeper mysteries. The instruments and processes which have served us so well in material things here fail us. The root question, taken with all that sprouts and grows from it, is this : Starting with the endowments, capacities and resources of human beings, strictly within the range of what we call Nature, with its known conditions and limitations, the question always was, and is, now,—has the space, the chasm between man and his sphere of earth and nature, and other worlds and their possible intelligences, ever been spanned, crossed with reinforcements, new supplies, communications, messages and revealings, adding to human resources of wisdom and truth ? It is to the literature on that whole theme, positive and negative, in the world's library, that I now refer. The reason why we prize most the ancient literature of the world is because we naturally believe that the farther back

we can reach in time toward the nursery of our race, the more communicative will be the oracles. If, as the poet tells us, "Heaven lies about us in our infancy," the first generations of our human race should have received the first teachings. Of course, it would be out of place here to meddle with the profundities of that thought. We are concerned with it simply as entering into the mass of literature in our libraries. The mystic rites and oracles of civilized peoples and the barbarous incantations and practices of savage peoples, alike enter into that theme. Precious to us are the speculations of the old sages, our first intelligible teachers, whose brows were furrowed by the working of their brains. Lord Bacon says that "Plato adulterated Nature as much with theology as Aristotle did with logic." Socrates and Cicero plaintively express the human longing for light and reinforcing wisdom from a sphere beyond the earth, while still they confess that for them the oracles were silent and heaven was dumb. But in his discourse on "The nature of the gods." Cicero utters the emphatic sentence, "No man was ever great without an affiliation from God."

In our literature we used to draw a deep distinction between the sacred and the profane. The distinction is alike impertinent and untrue. We class all ancient guessings, speculatings and bewildered believings under the leadings of the light of Nature, and those who lived by it, as heathen, or pagan. And then there enter into the mountain masses of the world's literature on this theme, of the relations other than physical, between the earth's human inhabitants and higher intelligences, volumes easily distinguishable on all our shelves. These assure us that the silence of Nature has been broken, that the chasm between earth and heaven has been crossed and spanned with bridge and ladder, with inspirations, revealings, reinforcements and messengers. If we could regard the quickening and reanimating influence which the firm *belief*

in this renovating interposition for our race has wrought and still is working in the regeneration of humanity,—as a perfect and positive *demonstration of its truth*, one element of the earth's most bitter conflicts and strifes would have been quieted. The message from heaven should have the ear, the reverence, the obedience of all men. We are dealing with this august subject simply as it fills a department of literature. So in the volumes on our shelves, we read of many, diverse, inconsistent and rival claimants and mediums of the divine message to tribes and nations, of sacred books variously reporting and interpreting the message, and of dull and unbelieving listeners who say that not having heard it themselves, they discredit its reality, or the testimonies to it.

Doubtless it would be in this department of literature—contentious, overladen and cumbersome to our shelves—that the verdict already referred to, of “worthless rubbish” to be thoroughly weeded out, would be most emphatically pronounced. The theological and religious shelves seem most to invite and provoke that process. But no! The protest against such a weeding out would be most earnest from very many voices, discordant on other matters, but in accord on this. The intention was significant, but the judgment was fallacious—as already noted—of classifying literature as sacred, or profane. Enormous as is the mass of what we call religious literature, with its mythologies, superstitions and legends, with its bodies of divinity without souls, and its souls of divinity without bodies, with all the heaps of polemics, for whose bitter and rancorous temper, we have an emphatic use of the word *Odium*, we intend to preserve it all. There is teaching—help to wisdom, or warning—in it. Indeed, if any impartially selected commission was set to search the shelves, with the agreement that only a unanimous vote should condemn a volume or a pamphlet to destruction, not a single one of them would be sacrificed. The experiment tried by

the Kaliph at Alexandria has ever since served as a warning.

If it were in our way to draw comparisons, or contrasts, between the tone and substance of the most marked productions of ancient and modern literature, the most striking of the contrasts would be in this. The ancient poets, at least, if not the sages, were most free and familiar with the divine powers, alike humanizing the deities and deifying the men. Indeed, their gods had once been men. These gods made armor for their earthly champions, arrayed them with it, and took part on their battlefields. Some of those deities, of both sexes, were so immodest and misbehaving in their own morals, as to countenance the frailties of their human subjects. Through signs and prodigies and oracles they made known their wishes to men, and their statues, features and characters were too familiar to leave any room for reverence. Our sky and earth are rid of them. Our freest modern literature regards any divine personality as undefinable. The divine right of kings—*Rex Dei Gratia*—is a lingering survival of the belief of the sway of gods over human affairs—and for this is now substituted the divine right of democracy. We still allow the names of those heathen deities to attach to planets, stars and constellations, because we have not yet discovered what sort of folks live upon them.

The literature of the religion of Christendom concerning the relations of the inhabitants of this earth to a higher power, needs not to be characterized here. It starts from an accepted and assured belief in a reinforcing of the natural limitations of humanity in the knowledge of divine things by a revelation of truth by supernatural methods and sanctions. It might be difficult among the infinite and distracting divergences of opinion and interpretation gathering around these alleged revelations, to define what is common and effectual as accepted truth. But the general and potent sway of that

belief, whether in its fulness or in fragments, is attested by well-nigh universal credence. This belief in a Divine interposition, dated in the world's calendar of time, as held by millions in their generations, has been the quickening and constraining force in the world's life in its fairest and noblest development. It is wrought in with institutions and constitutions; with legislation, treaties and statutes; with the laws and customs of all civilized peoples; with all covenants, and contracts; with daily speech and observance; with hierarchies, temples, cathedrals and worship; with the glories and harmonies of poetry and music, and all the symbolisms of art; it gives the date of our era and years; it has inspired zeal and benevolent enterprise in missions circling the globe; it enters into the most fondly-cherished personal experience, and untold millions have found in it everything of conviction and comfort short of direct vision and verbal converse with the Supreme. It is not strange, therefore, that a shock and panic should have run through Christendom when scientists and philosophers were understood as proposing a return to the oracles of Nature. For within recent years the largest and most vitalized addition which has been made to the department of what we call the religious literature of the world, is popularly viewed as dealing with this theme. It is the literature of the theory of Evolution. In part it is purely speculative, for the rest it engages strictly with facts and actual, observed phenomena, offering from them demonstrations and evidences. Incidentally, apart from its full and ultimate aim, it has made marvellously rich additions to natural science and history. It has proved exciting to the highest of the human faculties, quickening and daring in its affirmings and its generalizations. Because of its direct connection with religious conceptions and beliefs, it has stirred challenge, protest and embittered denial. The alarm and panic, not to say indignant passions aroused by the first announcement of this theory having calmed, it is

left free to the trial of testimony and self-vindication. The shock caused by the theory provoked from the zeal of those who were first moved to denounce it, the assertion that the theory of Evolution was a daring attempt "to dispense with God," with creative processes, and with all religious belief, and as blankly irreligious in its spirit and aim. In attempting to state and define the theory, I must act as interpreter, not as umpire, advocate or opponent.

Having been a diligent reader of the animated and vigorous volumes of the literature of this subject, I find them generally pervaded by an impartial spirit, seeking to treat its subjects within the strict limitations and processes of science, with reticence or silence as to religious elements. It is but clamor, ignorance or prejudice that pronounces the theory hostile to religious belief and sentiment, as it leaves these to a distinctive exercise of a class of human faculties within their own province of method and sanction. Doubtless this theory must inevitably come into open and sharp antagonism with many opinions, beliefs and notions incidentally associated with the vitalities of religion. But the boldest and most daring thinker or theorist cannot free himself, much less others,¹ from the solemnities of that mystery which broods over the universe and human life. Nor can he penetrate it. Of that august truth we may feel assured. And that truth is the hiding place of religion for men. If we could be persuaded that, by any process of argument or demonstration which would bring evidence or conviction with prevailing weight for the ordinary intelligence of men, religious beliefs and sanctions could be utterly discredited, then human life would be intolerable on this earth, the earth would be uninhabitable, except for a generation of Satyrs, infanticide, suicide and homicide would prevail over all the methods of disease for terminating existence, and the qualities in which humanity surpasses the brutes would be the means of degrading men below them.

What then is the animus, the prompting idea, the quickening spirit of this theory of Evolution? If I apprehend it aright, it is a championship of that original, primeval, marvellously impregnated egg, and its unexhausted potency. Evolutionists tell us that we ought to credit that egg with having produced from its own potency much that has been credited to other agencies, and that we ought not to seek outside it, or beyond it, or above it, for the explanation of any known phenomena, till we have exhausted its own fecundity. Indeed, it might be fitting for the convenience of classifying books in a library, that all the volumes dealing with the Evolution theory, should have stamped upon their back, side or title-page, the device of an egg, to take the place of the old devices of the eagle and the tortoise, as pillars of the earth.

If we seek to penetrate to the root and source of the vitality of those volumes of our literature, speculative and scientific, on this theory—which has been pronounced as “dispensing with God and creation,” we find it to involve an issue between what is called a rational or scientific interpretation of Nature, and the calling in of extra-natural, supernatural, or divine interventions to account for certain facts and phenomena. And this, too, is assured; that it is not from the lack of the religious element, devotional and reverential in the scientists of Evolution, still less from the conceit of self-sufficiency that they adopt and maintain their theory. It is from their insisting that the material and physical resources of nature, within itself, the potency of the original egg—whencesoever that was derived, should be relied upon for all observed facts and phenomena, before calling in the *Deus ex machina*. They claim that that egg in its elements and forces, has not exhausted its fecundity. The ages that have passed since that fecundity began its development have steadily drawn from it germs, capacities and mysterious energies, rich and fruitful enough to warrant us in looking for new and further surprises in ages to come.

That egg seems never likely to become addled. Its latest products are the richest. Essences, virtues, chemical, electric and explosive forces, oil and gas wells, bacilli, and what not, come like the opening of caskets within caskets in their disclosures. From the pressure of the newer strata upon the older, from the *debris* of nature, we pick out the diamond, the ruby, the garnet, the topaz, the sapphire and the amethyst. May it not have been that this original egg contained in itself the core and stock of humanity? Has it not yielded to the masses of its progeny the progressive averages of intelligence, while to special and signal individualities it has given genius, in all its ranges of brain-power in science, art, imagination and fancy? If this potency in the elements of this primal egg of humanity has limitations, it has not yet been proved to have reached them, and the look onward shadows possibilities, as yet inconceivable. Every grain of earth and every drop of water has in it as yet unrevealed secrets.

The poet Dryden, in some famous lines, seeking to exalt the genius of Homer, Virgil and Milton, wrote thus:

"Three poets in three distant ages born,
Greece, Italy and England did adorn:
The first in loftiness of thought surpassed,
The next in majesty, in both the last.
The force of Nature could no farther go,
To make a third she joined the other two."

Now not to pause upon the question as to what is the distinction between "loftiness of thought" and "majesty," we do pause upon the sentence, "The force of Nature could no farther go." A protest may be put in behalf of the Egg. It could generate two poets, but when prompted to make a third was so exhausted as to be compelled to blend the two. If the force of Nature in this sort of product is already spent, where shall we look for a fourth and a greater poet?

"Follow the capacities and outworkings of Nature in all its directions of reality and possibility—at least till you

have reached its limitations," says the scientist. So when it is claimed or asserted that there has been a later reinforcement from outside and above the range of Nature, of man's original resources, by messages and revealings of divine knowledge, we are bidden by the doubters, or the sages of these days, to pause. They ask us before looking outside and above man, to look more keenly into him; to learn of what he may himself be capable. As to whence he derived his capacities, of course there is silence—it is merely to ask, how the Egg was impregnated. The question thus opened in so much of the fresh literature on our shelves, is, whether since man's first appearance on this globe with his original furniture of being, he has been left to his own inherent resources, or has received reinforcements to them from outside and above. So the sturdiest champions of Evolution, jealous of Nature's powers and functions, insist upon referring to mundane agencies, all phenomena and effects which have been credited to occult and supernal influences. They boldly affirm that there has been nothing in human nature of feeling or experience, of belief or trust which has been referred to prodigy that they cannot account to natural agencies, the coming into action of latent forces. They take in hand the sacred books of the world's great religions, in which God presents himself in speech and action, and they tell us that they have learned to put to themselves the question—"Does God say this himself, or do men think it and say it of him and for him?" And they decide that these sacred books instead of being efforts of God to disclose himself to men, are the efforts of men to find their way to God, to reason, speak and act as representing Him, through the instincts, longings, promptings and inspirings of their own wealth of nature, however these may be accounted for. They take as literal prose what Emerson sung in poetry—

"Out of the heart of Nature rolled,
The burdens of the Bible old."

The champions of this theory avow themselves ready and able to defend it against all complaints of its irreligious spirit. They insist that its grounds and methods are impartial and legitimate, and that its processes are severely scientific. They tell us that nature and experience have always been the wisest and the safest teachers of men, and that when we leave them we are lost in the mists and fog-banks of uncertainty. We leave the positive guide-marks of nature, with their sure guidance, and commit ourselves to the individual workings of thought, emotion and sensibility, for which there are no common, still less universal, criteria of truth. They remind us that the distinction is not an artificial, nor an invented one, but draws itself, between the scientific and the religious methods. The enormous increase of positive knowledge in material things, has come by means which utterly fail us, and are wholly useless when employed on spiritual things. The emphasis on this distinction enforces the reminder that wholly another set of faculties, capacities and endowments, than the scientific, is required for use in religion, thus confirming a statement made once for all on high authority, not to be improved upon, that "spiritual things can only be spiritually discerned." And more than this: the champions of the scientific processes do not fail in their turn to point to the variances and discords on all the material subjects and sanctions of religion, and to the haze of uncertainty investing all common believings. They boast of the world's indebtedness to the master-spirits of true philosophy in the dreary conflict with superstitious dreads. They remind us that every successive step in the steady and triumphant advance of science in enfranchising, enlightening and enlarging man's range of view and action, has been made by men of free and bold minds, against protests, warnings and cruel penalties in the defence of bugbears and credulities representing sacerdotal authority. They point to the number and the once dread sway of superstitions and terrors

now turned to ridicule in the lingering survivals of them among the still benighted. They tell us that the Roman Church *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* is in itself a comprehensive catalogue of the works of human genius in the enlightenment and true advancement of our race.

Some of the alleged boastfulness of the scientists may be charged to the decay of the old reverence and devoutness which found its material in ignorance and torpidity of thought, and in acquiescence with ghostly teachings. Some of it, too, may be referred to the puffing of conceit and an assumption of oracular wisdom in the scientists. But for the rest, the scientists find justification, not only in the enlarged fields and the splendid triumphs of natural knowledge, but they rightfully point to marked modifications and reductions in the expression of religious and theological beliefs. These certainly are held and spoken with more hesitancy and modesty than when a Divine personality was so familiarly addressed and so boldly interpreted in attribute and action, as if in the words of Matthew Arnold, "a man had just been talking with the Supreme around the street corner." Very impressive and significant are some of the tokens which will come to our minds of the repressiveness, the reticence which science has quietly induced in the familiarity and boldness of address and interpretation of the Supreme. When our weather bureaus are calculating mathematically, from climatic phenomena and the crossing of atmospheric currents, the signs of coming rain-storms, tempests, droughts and cold-waves; and when, in pestilential epidemics sanitary appliances are advised—it seems incongruous to the scientist—though he may not pronounce it vain—to have recourse to devotional exercises, with defined petitions for direct intervention. Very observable, too, is the prevalence of this modern tendency to refer everything to nature, to elemental and physical law, and to rest there, with reticence, at least, as to the intervention of a special agency. The Royal Society of London, now

well advanced on its third century, recognized for its design to advance "the Glory of God, and the welfare of man's estate." But from the first the members in their wisdom avowed "we barred all discourses of divinity." "The Glory of God" may be at heart the aim of all its members, but rhetorical speech on the theme would be held to be unseemly, and out of taste. Whatever may be the mind of the members, here or there, the fellowship is non-committal. The caution seems to be, "Keep to what you know, and can prove." So we might trace the manifestation of the modern spirit in the meetings, publications and discussions of the academies and learned fellowships, in all the sciences and economies. They are uniformly reticent of all the devout references of the old faith, to the providence, wisdom and goodness of the Supreme.

Of course there is nothing novel, nothing original for our day in this theory of the Evolution of Nature, as chargeable with "dispensing with God and Creation." What conceit, suggestion or imagination of human brains and fancies can to-day be new? Philosophers and poets of the old classic days revelled in the solemnities and the fancies of this ever fresh theme. The wonderful poem of Lucretius, of the century preceding our era, has left nothing in thought or imagination untried in his conception of a universe which was not the result of creative energy by a Supreme, but that all its contents and products were from the union of elemental particles existing from all eternity, working by simple laws. I have sought to explain the shock of the theory, as if it were novel in our day, by the boldness and thoroughness of its exposition, its logical and experimental defence, the apparent plausibility of its evidence, and the calm assurance of its champions, safe from the pains and penalties of heresy, that the world is free to make the worst or the best of it. Its collision with the popular religion of our day has deepened the shock of its defiant claims. The literature of these momentous themes has

concerned us here, only as matter for the shelves of the world's library of its history. Henceforward we may be sure that this class of our literature will run on in parallel lines of the scientific and religious interpretation of man and nature. By the truec of tolerance the volumes will stand peacefully, side by side on our shelves, though it might not be so with their authors.

So far has progress, or at least a beginning, been assured in gathering the history of the earth into libraries and museums. The collection is but fragmentary, with staring gaps unfilled, in long reaches, and, on many subjects, all mute and uncommunicative. As in the doctrine of Evolution, the missing links outnumber the connecting links. Were there no other reasons to arrest our natural prompting to follow with musings, reflections and moralizings, the historical vision which we have called before us, we should find enough to deter us in the overwhelming multitude, the suggestiveness, and, indeed, in the confusing bewilderment of the theme. It is inexhaustible in the matters which it offers for questions and answers, and all the more so because these common questions would receive such diverse answers, from the largest and fullest survey. Suppose a man gifted with the loftiest and most comprehensive intellectual power to engage in the interpretation of the sum and moral of the teachings of that library, it would deeply interest us to listen to him if we could regard him as a trustworthy oracle. Yet we are every day hearing or reading from those of every degree in depth or shallowness of judgment, such interpretations of the summary of the earth's history. Can we, after the fashion of the time, apply the theory of Evolution, in any of its phases—the struggle for life, the survival of the fittest, the cheering belief in a steady progress and betterment of things—to this tangled record of time and man? It tells us of the rise, disruption and fall of empires; of the culmination of ancient civilizations, shifting their scenes in continents and islands,

with all their splendor and glory, and then their humiliation; of the renewal of these civilizations in virgin regions vivified with new elements from warnings from the past, or inspirations, while still finding ideals in art or culture in ancient types and models, and seeking to excel the great illuminators of the ages in intellect, taste and skill. If we sadly yield to the sentence, that humanity repeats its experience in recurring circles, we are reassured that those circles are in spirals, on an ever rising plane.

An almost prevailing judgment on the review of human history on the earth pronounces it appalling in its sadness, a course of strifes, sorrows and disappointments, a process of disillusioning, the shores of time being strewn with wrecks. But we remind ourselves that the living of each generation have never so regarded their experience. Even from all the conflicts and wounds of the past we cannot draw the pessimistic conclusion that life is not worth the living. If those of the great and wise, the heroic and the wronged, whose struggles and woes in life and death were the most cruel and tragic, could have had the prescience—which was indeed the glorified vision of some of them—of our own acknowledged debt to them in benefit and guidance, they would have gladly accepted their lot. Each generation of men, however low in the scale, has found a satisfaction in existence, and has shrunk from parting with it. We can trace no people on the earth, even in rudest barbarity, that has been without games and festivities. There are springs in the human heart that yield a perpetual flow of humor, fun and gayety. Tragedy and comedy divide the thought, the experience and the literature of the world in all its ages. Running through all this literature we find the two streams of the grave and the frivolous, the serious and the ludicrous, the *allegro* and the *penseroso* of life, the lugubrious sermons and the satirical caricatures. Caricatures are found even on the solemn tombs of old Egypt. The masterpieces of both ancient and modern

literature thus divide themselves into tragedies and comedies, the monarch of all literature, Shakespeare, holding either wand. Those superb busts of Democritus and Heraclitus, the laughing and the crying philosopher—which one may see in Naples—might stand, respectively, over two divided sections of the earth's full library. Light and cheer, even if sometimes only in grim mockery, will streak the gloom. Even among animals, there is but one alone that does not frisk and gambol in its youth, and that is the camel, saddened, it may be, as if in foresight of its dry and sandy pilgrimage.

A more searching question asked of the earth's library is this: with the word Progress in our minds, whether there is traceable through its volumes a steady increase in the whole capital stock of the world's wisdom, virtue and happiness, or content? Taking the estimated number of living human beings in its hundreds of millions, do each and all share, though in infinitely varied measurements and proportions in the whole sum of accumulated good? As to physical means and resources, at least, this question must have a positive affirmative answer. Using the word Science to express the knowledge of the elements and workings of material things, progress through it has been grand and stupendous. The triumph has been fullest in this, more than in any present gain or achievement, that every certified scientific fact or principle is a sure promise of the revealing of another, the next in the endless line. And yet with all this we are confronted with the undeniable fact, that the relations of proportion between the known and the unknown, keep an equilibrium, and have never been one whit changed since men began to search and question. The surest part of our knowledge is that which discloses to us the depths and abysses of our ignorance in the unexplored field ever opening onward. Our sum of knowledge, as related to the blanks of our ignorance may be compared to the measurement of the illumi-

nation cast at night by the lighthouses on coasts and islands, upon the dark reaches of the ocean. Still those illuminated points are welcome guides to the world's navigators. Our most positive scientists are also the most frank of our agnostics. And at this point is again raised that often, but needlessly, ill-tempered debate as to whether the world owes more of its enlightenment, gain and progress to scepticism or to faith, to inquiring or to believing. In the terms on which that debate is usually conducted, the scientist has the vast advantage. He tells us that the whole realm of the unknown on every subject, alike human or divine, was once guarded and frightened by superstition. Theology warned off inquiry, or prejudiced and forestalled its results. Science has won for us the freedom of the mind, the right of thought, of opinion and of utterance on all subjects of high concern to men, with full and entire immunity and security, without dread or harm from civil or sacerdotal penalties—the supreme assurance of a truce among all the seekers of truth. In the interest of faith, theologians and priests denied and withheld this freedom of mind, thought and inquiry. In the world's library every step in that hard-won freedom may be clearly traced in the conflict of bold and resolute spirits in endurance and self-sacrifice. Astronomy, geology, anatomy, surgery, chemistry are the winnings of scepticism defying the bans of theology, which taught that there was a grace in exercising a blindly confiding spirit, leaving the realm of the unknown to mystery and awe. Yet while the world's great library, in the latest volumes added to it, abundantly illustrates the triumphs won by the inquisitive spirit on subjects guarded by the warnings of mystery, this fact by no means settles the great debate as to humanity's larger indebtedness to inquiring or to believing. That word faith has come to be used with such vagueness and comprehensiveness as to cover many meanings. No word needs more to have assigned to it a definite and clear signification. In some of

its uses it is not distinguishable from blind credulity, asking us to accept through it what we know, or strongly suspect is not true. But there are subjects of faith and exercises of faith, as the world's library attests, to which men have been indebted for their loftiest aims and inspirations, as to the Promethean fire in their clay. These are for motives and objects transcendently lofty above all the appliances and means and facilities of practical use. That kind of faith must always cover the whole realm of the still impenetrable mystery of the unknown, veiling the great solution. We may pause over the puzzle presented by one of the Fathers of the Church, in the bold challenge: "I believe, because it is impossible!" But none the less, we know, that through the inspiring vision and the heroic constancy of some august beliefs, the "impossible" has so often moved its stake as to have become but a vanishing-point.

We ask a closing question as we stand before the world's library gathering in its history. The world has carried on with it, for thought and search, and discussion and trial by experience, many great problems concerning the interest and welfare of humanity. The aim has been to dispose of as many as possible of these debated problems by certified truths, or fixed principles listed above all further disscussion and variance. Have any of these great problems been thus finally disposed of, settled for all time; or is the world still to carry them on for generations to come, as still debated? As it would be idle to attempt an enumeration or statement of these problems, we are all free to sum them, or to specify them. There will be the widest difference of judgment as to which, if any of them, have been settled. That fact leaves these problems just where, and as we find them. And what shall we say as to any and all merely mundane problems, settled or unsettled, when we know that the most earnest and intelligent of living men are divided in opinion on this, the highest of all questions—Can all the essential

motives, rules, principles and beliefs for the individual in all his social, political and religious relations, be drawn from time and the earth, from nature and human reason, or are they absolutely dependent upon a divine guidance, certified and demonstrated, or to be accepted through belief?

Meanwhile we can but gather in for the world's library all that makes up its history. Our hope must be of making it complete before the general consummation of all things. But that will depend upon which event comes first.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

THE Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society here-with submits his semi-annual report of receipts and disbursements for the six months ending April 1, 1892.

By direction of the Finance Committee there has been carried to each fund, from the income of the investments for the past six months, three per cent. on the amount of the several funds October 1, 1891.

The Lincoln Legacy Fund of \$1,000, now amounts to \$3,303.35, showing a balance of income applicable to the purposes of the Fund of \$2,303.35.

The Publishing Fund shows a gain of about \$700 for the past six months, owing largely to the fact that the expense of printing the last number of the "Proceedings" has not yet been paid.

A detailed statement of the investments is given as a part of this report, showing the par and market value of the various stocks and bonds.

The reserved "Income Fund" now amounts to \$1,603.77.

The total of the investments and cash on hand April 1, 1892, was \$116,723.58, an increase of \$1,175.80 over the total of six months ago. It is divided among the several funds as follows :

The Librarian's and General Fund,.....	\$39,496.48
The Collection and Research Fund,.....	18,852.02
The Bookbinding Fund,	6,537.66
The Publishing Fund,.....	23,284.91
The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund,.....	6,954.28
The Lincoln Legacy Fund,.....	3,303.35
The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund,.....	1,032.50
The Salisbury Building Fund,.....	4,656.64
The Alden Fund,.....	1,248.19
The Tenney Fund,.....	5,000.00
The Haven Fund,.....	1,206.86
The George Chandler Fund,.....	539.00
The Francis H. Dewey Fund,.....	2,331.01
Premium Account,.....	676.96
Income Account,.....	1,603.77
	<hr/>
	\$116,723.58

The cash on hand, included in the foregoing statement, is \$6,025.31.

The detailed statement of the receipts and disbursements for the past six months, ending April 1, 1892, is as follows:

DR.

1891. Oct. 1.	Balance of cash as per last report,.....	\$7,349.51
1892. April 1.	Received for interest to date,.....	3,232.40
" "	Received for annual assessments,.....	90.00
" "	Received for life assessments,.....	150.00
" "	Received from sale of books and pamphlets,.....	120.50
" "	Boston & Albany R. R. Bonds paid.....	7,000.00
" "	Bank tax returned,.....	388.51
" "	From Hon. Geo. F. Hoar, for Stevens's fac-similes,.....	25.00
		<hr/>
		\$18,355.92

CR.

By salaries to April 1, 1892,.....	\$1,615.48
By expense of repairs,.....	168.26
Expense on account of publication,.....	18.31
Books purchased,.....	361.10
For binding,.....	66.50
Incidental expenses,.....	283.89
For Insurance,.....	240.00
Invested in Mortgage Notes,.....	9,500.00
Interest on Mortgage Note,.....	77.07
	<hr/>
Balance in cash April 1, 1892,.....	\$12,330.61
	<hr/>
	\$18,355.92

CONDITION OF THE SEVERAL FUNDS.

The Librarian's and General Fund.

Balance of Fund, October 1, 1892,.....	\$39,409.58
Income to April 1, 1892,.....	1,182.29
For three life memberships,.....	150.00
Transferred from Tenney Fund,.....	150.00
	<hr/>
Paid for salaries,.....	\$1,000.70
Incidental expenses,.....	148.69
For Insurance,.....	240.00
	<hr/>
	\$1,396.39
1892, April 1. Amount of Fund,.....	\$39,496.43

The Collection and Research Fund.

Balance October 1, 1891,	\$18,923.82
Income to April 1, 1892,.....	577.96
	<hr/>
	\$19,501.78
Expenditure from the Fund for salaries and incidentals...	649.76
	<hr/>
1892, April 1. Amount of Fund,	\$18,852.02

The Bookbinding Fund.

Balance October 1, 1891,.....	\$6,411.31
Income to April 1, 1892,.....	192.35
	<hr/>
	\$6,604.16
Paid for binding,.....	66.50
	<hr/>
1892, April 1. Amount of Fund,	\$6,537.66

The Publishing Fund.

Balance October 1, 1891,	\$22,517.45
Income to April 1, 1892,	675.32
Publications sold,.....	110.25
	<hr/>
	\$23,303.92
Paid on account of publication,	18.31
	<hr/>
Balance April 1, 1892,	\$23,284.91

The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund.

Balance October 1, 1891,	\$6,807.31
Income to April 1, 1892,	204.22
	<hr/>
	\$7,011.53
Paid for books,.....	57.25
	<hr/>
Balance April 1, 1892,	\$6,954.28

The Lincoln Legacy Fund.

Balance October 1, 1891,	\$3,207.14
Income to April 1, 1892,.....	96.21
	<hr/>

Balance April 1, 1892,

\$3,303.35

The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund.

Balance October 1, 1891,.....	\$1,074.76
Income to April 1, 1892,	32.24
	<hr/>
	\$1,107.00
Paid for books,.....	74.50
	<hr/>
Balance April 1, 1892,	\$1,032.50

The Salisbury Building Fund.

Balance October 1, 1891,	\$4,684.37
Income to April 1, 1892,	140.53
	<hr/>
	\$4,824.90
Paid for repairs,.....	108.36
	<hr/>
Balance April 1, 1892,	\$4,656.64

The Alden Fund.

Balance October 1, 1891,	\$1,308.94
Income to April 1, 1892,	39.26
	<hr/>
	\$1,348.90
Paid on account of catalogue,.....	100.01
	<hr/>
Balance April 1, 1892,	\$1,248.19

The Tenney Fund.

Balance October 1, 1891,	\$5,000.00
Income to April 1, 1892,	150.00
	<hr/>
	\$5,150.00
Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund,.....	150.00
	<hr/>
Balance April 1, 1892,	\$5,000.00

The Haven Fund.

Balance October 1, 1891,	\$1,218.48
Income to April 1, 1892,	36.56
	<hr/>
	\$1,255.04
Paid for books,.....	48.18
	<hr/>
Balance April 1, 1892,	\$1,206.86

The George Chandler Fund.

Balance October 1, 1891,	\$539.47
Income to April 1, 1892,	16.19
	<hr/>
	\$555.66
Paid for books,.....	16.00
	<hr/>
Balance April 1, 1892,	\$539.00

The Francis H. Dewey Fund.

Balance October 1, 1891,	\$2,320.12
Income to April 1, 1892,	69.61
	<hr/>
	\$2,389.73
Paid for books,.....	58.72
	<hr/>
Balance April 1, 1892,	\$2,331.01
Total of the thirteen funds,.....	
Balance to the credit of Premium Account,.....	\$114,442.85
Balance to the credit of Income Account,.....	676.96
	<hr/>
	1,003.77
April 1, 1892, total,	\$116,723.58

STATEMENT OF THE INVESTMENTS.

No. of Shares.	STOCKS.	Par Value.	Market Value.
6 Central National Bank, Worcester,.....	\$ 600.00	\$ 894.00	
22 City National Bank Worcester,.....	2,200.00	3,256.00	
10 Citizens National Bank Worcester,.....	1,000.00	1,350.00	
4 Boston National Bank,.....	400.00	440.00	
6 Fitchburg National Bank,.....	600.00	900.00	
5 Massachusetts National Bank Boston,.....	500.00	522.50	
32 National Bank of Commerce, Boston,.....	3,200.00	4,176.00	
6 National Bank of North America, Boston,.....	600.00	788.00	
5 North National Bank, Boston,.....	500.00	695.00	
24 Quinsigamond National Bank, Worcester,.....	2,400.00	2,880.00	
46 Shawmut National Bank, Boston,.....	4,600.00	5,796.00	
33 Webster National Bank, Boston,.....	3,300.00	3,333.00	
31 Worcester National Bank	3,100.00	4,681.00	
Total of Bank Stock,.....	\$23,000.00	\$29,661.50	
30 Northern (N. H.) R. R. Co.,.....	\$3,000.00	\$4,200.00	
5 Worcester Gas Light Co.,.....	500.00	775.00	

BONDS.

Central Pacific R. R. Bonds,.....	6,000.00	6,360.00
Eastern R. R. Bonds,.....	1,000.00	1,230.00
Kansas City Fort Scott & Gulf R. R.,.....	4,300.00	4,816.00
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R. Co.,.....	3,000.00	2,880.00
Chicago & Eastern Illinois R. R. 5 per cent.....	5,000.00	5,000.00
Quincy Water Bonds,.....	6,000.00	6,000.00
Notes secured by mortgage of real estate,.....	58,550.00	58,550.00
Deposited in Worcester savings banks,.....	348.27	348.27
Cash in National Bank on interest.....	6,025.31	6,025.31
	\$116,723.58	\$125,846.06

WORCESTER, Mass., April 1, 1892.

Respectfully submitted,

NATH'L PAIN,
Treasurer.

The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, hereby certify that we have examined the report of the Treasurer, made up to April 1, 1892, and find the same to be correct and properly vouched; that the securities held by him are as stated, and that the balance of cash, as stated to be on hand, is satisfactorily accounted for.

WM. A. SMITH.
A. G. BULLOCK.

April 16, 1892.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

THE Librarian's report may serve, at least for the present, not only as the official record of library *data* but as the vehicle in which a few minor facts and suggestions may be brought to the attention of members and others. The sources of our accessions have been more numerous than in any six months in the history of the Society. It would seem that Dr. Haven's spirit of attraction still lingers helpfully about Antiquarian Hall. The gradual increase of our book funds has made it seem desirable to submit to the Library Committee for their approval, the checked book-sale catalogues from which our foreign and domestic orders are selected. I desire to make an urgent appeal for an open alcove in the main hall, which shall contain the latest and best editions of the leading modern dictionaries, cyclopaedias and kindred works, and for a permanent fund therefor which shall make us continually grateful to the giver. The open lower half of alcove W, now filled with works of this class, more or less obsolete, can easily be made available for the purpose. Another pressing need is more shelf-room in the lower main hall, which is no longer our duplicate room merely, but an important section of our rapidly-increasing library. The movable cases which already give the alcove effect to its south side can be extended to the north side, and later used to advantage in our attic hall, should the stack system be adopted in the lower hall. I note for record the fact that on the 6th of January, Miss Mary Gilbert Whitcomb was engaged by the Library Committee as an aid to the librarian and his assistant, and has been on duty since that date. Such an addition to the executive force was greatly needed and is duly

appreciated. The placing of a faithful assistant in both the main hall and the Salisbury annex is found to be an added safeguard in the administration of my trust. It should be stated that a brief account of the Society from the pen of its President, appeared in the *Boston Commonwealth* of October 17, 1891, and that on the same day, by a curious coincidence, a more extended account by Mr. Alfred S. Roe was published in his *Light*. I am informed that the appointments of various members of this Society, including its librarian, as members of the Advisory Council of the World's Congress Auxiliary of the World's Columbian Exposition on Historical Literature, on a Congress of Librarians, etc., have been generally accepted. These appointments are doubtless received as suggestive, to a certain extent at least, of the national and international character of the Society, as well as of its standing in the historical and library world. We have here already begun to render such service as circumstances will allow. I now add the names of Mr. Theodore F. Dwight, recently elected librarian of the Boston Public Library, and Mr. Charles J. Hoadly, State Librarian of Connecticut, to the list of our associates mentioned in my report of last April as librarians of incorporated libraries. I desire, also, to pay my tribute of respect to the memory of the late Hon. Lewis H. Steiner, librarian of the Enoch Pratt Free Library of Baltimore from its foundation until his death, February 18, 1892. It was my duty, as it was my privilege, during the last two years of the late war while he was the United States Sanitary Commission's Chief Inspector of the Army of the Potomac, to report to him while I was the Commission's Field Relief Agent for the Fifth Army Corps. In this, as in all other trusts imposed upon him, Dr. Steiner was devoted, faithful and intelligent.

I will add to my last October remarks upon Col. John May and his portrait, presented to us by the Misses May of Boston, what perhaps should have appeared there as a foot-note.

The painter was Christian Gullager, not Gullag as recorded in the letter of gift, in the manuscript attached to the portrait and in various printed lists. It is a curious fact that the innocent cause of the error was not the painter but the framer who covered the last two letters of the artist's name. It may not be amiss to state that the autograph upon our portrait is clearly C. Gullager and not Gülliger or Güllagher as it has recently appeared in several art exhibition catalogues, etc.

A communication has been received asking if women can become members of the Society; and upon the receipt of our by-laws and list of members, the inquirer replied that while our Constitution does not exclude women from membership, the fact that there are no female members might prevent the receipt of an important gift. Another matter-of-fact question received is "How much would it cost to name an alcove in the Society's library?" To this query it was not so easy to make answer, for while Horace speaks of a monument more durable than brass, we are nowhere informed of the market value of such a memorial.

We have again been called upon to allow the reproduction in facsimile of the first number of one of our early American newspapers. At this time it is the *Impartial Intelligencer*, first established at Greenfield, Massachusetts, February 1, 1792, rechristened the *Greenfield Gazette*, in the following August, and now bearing the name of the *Gazette and Courier*. Its original name had apparently been lost even at the office of publication, as the first communication received therefrom called for the "National Intelligence," instead of the *Impartial Intelligencer*. Such reproductions have not only value and interest in themselves, but they also emphasize in a large way the use of safe depositories like our own. In recognition of the Society's assistance, a beautiful centennial souvenir volume has been placed upon our shelves.

A recent careful examination of our Fast, Thanksgiving

and kindred proclamations has brought to light a possibly unique copy of the official broadside manifesto against what has been called both “the first newspaper” and “its precursor.” A reproduction in as perfect form as modern type will allow, follows:—

BY THE

GOVERNOUR & COUNCIL

WHEREAS some have lately presumed to Print and Disperse a Pamphlet, (Entituled, Publick Occurrences, both Foreign and Domestick: Boston, Thursday, Septemb. 25 th. 1690.) Without the least Privity or Countenance of Authority.

The Governour and Council having had the perusal of the faid Pamphlet, and finding that therein is contained Reflections of a very high nature: Af also sundry doubtful and uncertain Reports, do hereby manifest and declare their high Resentment and Disallowance of faid Pamphlet, and Order that the same be Suppreffed and called in; strickly forbidding any perfon or perfons for the future to Set forth any thing in Print without Licence first obtained from thofe that are or shall be appointed by the Government to grant the fame.

By Order of the Governour & Council.

Isaac Addington, Secr.

Boston, September 29th. 1690.

It may help to fix certain dates and quotations about which there has been some variation, but in this presence I need not mention them in detail, or even give a list of the various writers upon the subject.

We have a special interest in the subject matter of record inks and their permanence, attention to which has been called by the report of expert chemical analyses made under the direction of Mr. Robert T. Swan, Massachusetts Commissioner on Public Records of Parishes, Towns and Counties. Referring to the registration volumes of some of the towns, he says: “A number of the returns in these volumes of as recent a date as 1875 were almost illegible, and three made in 1888 were nearly as indistinct.” And again: “The volumes of copies of the old records of Lexington, made in 1853, have faded until they are quite

indistinct." Dr. Haven once said to the writer that the one thing needful is a permanent record ink, and that whoever first discovers it is sure not only of a fortune but also of the gratitude of all scholars whose researches call them to original manuscript authorities. Not only should the subject of ink for records receive the attention which its importance warrants, but that attention should be immediate and general; and our membership can help to make it so. There is much instructive reading in the reports of the various Record Commissioners who have been appointed by the State of Massachusetts for special or general service since the year 1884. It should not be forgotten that two of our members, Hon. Samuel A. Green and Justin Winsor, LL.D., were of the Commission which reported January 31, 1885, upon the condition of the records, files, papers and documents in the Department of the Secretary of the Commonwealth.

I would commend to the attention and influence of members, the following paragraphs from the last printed report of the State Librarian of Massachusetts. They relate to the redistribution of State documents, a subject the importance of which this Society was perhaps the first to suggest, as it was certainly the first to contribute toward the carrying out of the suggestion. The quotation follows: "The library is making an effort to collect and distribute State publications as opportunity may offer, and has been able to accomplish some good work in this direction the past two or three years. It has sought to obtain collections of State documents which were in places where they were not desired and to use them in perfecting sets in libraries or institutions where they would be made useful. Many such volumes are in private hands or in town and county offices — fragments of sets which are not only useless but in careless confusion — which would have great value when placed where they would perfect collections that are needed for practical use. The State Library will gladly receive copies

of any publications of the State, in any quantity, and endeavor to place them where they will be serviceable."

An act of the legislature of Massachusetts to incorporate the Trustees of Public Reservations—to which subject your attention was briefly called in the librarian's report of October, 1890—was approved May 21, 1891, and the Board, whose first annual report has just been published, organized by the election of our senior vice-president, the Hon. George F. Hoar, as its president. In their printed appeal "They desire to obtain information regarding existing public reservations of all kinds; their number, character and locality, and the titles and conditions under which they are held. They also invite suggestions relating to places which it may be thought desirable to preserve for public use either on account of historic interest, or the beauty of the local scenery." They further state that "There is need of more complete recognition of the conditions which will soon result from the increasing density of the population of our country and its concentration in cities and towns. There is need too that the value of historical and literary memorials be recognized before they are injured or destroyed. Accordingly the trustees request all persons who are already interested in any part of the broad field of their endeavors—all persons and societies—in scenery, in natural history, in history, in public health and in the common weal in general, to unite in assisting the work of the Board by corresponding with the Secretary or agent and by becoming subscribers to the working fund."

It would seem to be our part and duty not only to aid in this comparatively local effort, but to spread an intelligent knowledge of it in order that the force of this good example may be felt throughout the land. The practical interest of our president, senior vice-president and members of the Council has been shown in and about our home city, by park-giving and beautifying, by road-building to beautiful

outlooks, by monumental structure, and by long and generous service on the Parks-Commission.

I submit the library statistics for six months to April 15: We have received from three hundred sources, viz.: from forty-two members, one hundred and forty-one persons not members and one hundred and seventeen societies and institutions, as gifts, five hundred and seventy books, thirty-three hundred and fifty-eight pamphlets, one hundred and sixty-five volumes of unbound newspapers, five hundred heliotypes, one hundred and forty-eight photographs, fifty-four coins, fifty-three medals, eleven engravings, three manuscript volumes and five manuscript sermons, three maps, two charts, one plaster bust and one specimen of Confederate currency; and by exchange, etc.: one hundred and eighty-eight books and one hundred and twenty-six pamphlets; making a total of seven hundred and fifty-eight books, thirty-four hundred and eighty-four pamphlets, one hundred and sixty-five volumes of newspapers, etc.

Special mention is made of certain gifts, as follows: From President Stephen Salisbury, Vice-President George F. Hoar, and Councillor Edward L. Davis, we have now received the second five volumes of Stevens's facsimiles of manuscripts in European archives relating to America, 1773-1783. A recent critical notice of them in the London *Athenaeum*, says, "By publishing these facsimiles, Mr. Stevens has enabled any intelligent reader to understand the manner in which the struggle for independence was begun, continued and concluded. We can repeat with increased confidence that every library worthy of the name ought to contain a set of these facsimiles." It is confidently expected that volumes XI.-XV. will be ready for delivery before our October meeting when your librarian hopes to be able to acknowledge from some source the issues of 1892. Vice-President Edward E. Hale and Dr. Justin Winsor have placed their Columbus volumes upon our shelves, and Treasurer Nathaniel Paine has added thereto forty-four of

his photographs of the discoverer. Mr. Charles Francis Adams's first gift after his election to membership in the Society is his History of Braintree, the North Precinct of Braintree and Quincy; and that of Mr. Edwin D. Mead, numbers of the *New England Magazine* to complete our set. Recording Secretary John D. Washburn has presented five hundred copies of the Swiss Paet of 1291, for the Society's Proceedings; and another instalment of books from the library of the late Samuel Foster Haven, LL.D., has reached us from the Executrix. Mr. Charles P. Bowditch has given to our Spanish-American department "with the hope that some user of the library may help to unravel its mysteries," a copy of the second edition of the famous Dresden Codex, whose publication has been materially aided by him. He has also, by the purchase of a set of the Society's *Archæologia Americana*, recognized both the value of our Transactions and the importance of our Publishing Fund. The Davis, Thomas, Haven, Chandler and Dewey funds have enriched their several collections by fifty-two, fifty-four, twenty-six, five and forty-one volumes respectively: the opportunities for purchase having been unusually favorable. I note the receipt of a package carefully tied and sealed bearing the following endorsement: "Worcester County Horticultural Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, 3d March, A. D., 1892, Data, Excerpta, Narrata, &c., &c., deposited with American Antiquarian Society for Horticultural use A. D., 1942. Attest, Edward Winslow Lincoln, Secretary. *Litera Scripta Manet.*" The ends of the parcel are marked "Fiftieth Anniversary," and Secretary Lincoln requests that they may remain unbroken until the material is needed in preparation for the Society's Centennial celebration, March 3, 1942, when our librarian is authorized to break the seals. I recall but one other deposit of a similar character, viz., a well-filled bottle marked by Dr. Haven, "Wine deposited for use on some future occasion. Town Hall Dedication, Worcester, May

2, 1825." Mr. W. Lewis Fraser, Art Manager of *The Century*, has placed the Society's name on the free list, for assistance in his department. Mr. Horace G. Mather has sent his "Lineage of Richard Mather" with a like acknowledgment; Mr. Barrett Wendell's "Cotton Mather the Puritan Priest" is endorsed "American Antiquarian Society in grateful acknowledgment of their courtesy"; and Hon. Joseph B. Felt Osgood's gift of a much-needed copy of his namesake's "Customs of New England" is marked "as Dr. Felt if living would do." Dr. Pliny Earle, with clear foresight, has placed in the alcove of Genealogy an extra copy of his "Ralph Earle and his Descendants," with the understanding that it is a duplicate for use and not for sale or exchange. We are indebted to the Secretary, Clarence W. Bowen, Ph.D., who is a firm believer in "photography as an aid to history," for more than one hundred photographs, etc., illustrative of the Centennial celebration at New York, April 20, 1889, of the Inauguration of George Washington as President of the United States; and to Mr. Arthur M. Knapp of the Boston Public Library, for the identification of several of our engraved heads. Mr. G. Stewart Dickinson's deposit of American coins, which is in part for early service rendered him in another department, has a marked face as well as numismatic value. The addition to our Medallie Collection by Mr. Edward D. Stoddard should also be mentioned as one of unusual interest. The following paragraph from a letter addressed to the librarian by Mr. Francis Jackson Garrison is self-explanatory: "I am greatly obliged to you for your generosity in turning the duplicate *Liberators* over to me, and as a slight mark of my appreciation I send you a copy of the four-volume Life of my Father, for the Society's Library." Mr. Garrison's children have not only prepared this exhaustive life of their father, but the giver of this work has attempted another work which, so far as I am aware, is unique, viz., the placing of sets of Garrison's *Liberator* in some of the

leading libraries of the country. This undertaking, naturally, has been more difficult than would have been anticipated. The ingathering and redistribution of this material by Mr. Garrison has required years of patient effort and good judgment and it has been our privilege both to aid and to encourage the good work. We are indebted to Denman Waldo Ross, Ph.D., of Cambridge, for a recent gift of sixty-four selected volumes, of which Dr. Winsor who suggested the bestowal, truly says, "They are books relating to institutional history in the main, and will serve to round out your collection in some directions where I suspect you may not be very strong. Some of them are of considerable pecuniary value." I will only add that Columbia College Library has greatly strengthened our American college literature, and the Worcester Free Public Library our file of the *National Anti Slavery Standard*, by gifts from their duplicate rooms.

For the further encouragement of those who occasionally send us their miscellaneous literary accumulations, let me quote, with approval, a paragraph from the *Bookmart* of January, 1890: "In every city there should be one library which should preserve everything without the slightest regard to its apparent value, or the current demand." And from the *Sunday School Times* the following, which applies with even more force to public than to private libraries: "One may have scores of books which he seldom or never opens, and yet without them his powers of literary production would be hampered and impaired. Only true book-users can feel the power there is in the mere presence of unused books."

A moderate increase of our already large collection of genealogies is assured by the gifts of our associate Dr. George Chandler. Its statistical as well as historical value has from time to time been briefly dwelt upon by your librarian. Referring to Prof. Nathaniel S. Shaler's recent paper upon the Scientific Aspects of Genealogy, Rev. Dr. Hale

remarks: "If, for instance, we knew the history of Joseph Banneker, who appears to me to have been the ablest of our American negroes, the facts would doubtless throw much light on the possibilities of the race." However this may be, the Society's archives furnish a few items confirmatory of the article upon this Maryland negro mathematician and astronomer, as printed in 1845 and 1852 by the Historical Society of his native State. I mention as of first importance, our founder's gift of a manuscript of fourteen folio pages, which Dr. Thomas has endorsed as follows: "Bannaker was an African, or of African descent—a black man residing in Maryland. This is the original copy from which the Almanack was printed 1792, and was as Mr. Goddard says written by Bannaker. Presented [i. e. to Mr. Thomas] by Wm. Goddard in 1813, who printed the same in Baltimore in the year aforesaid." The first issue of Robert B. Thomas's Farmer's Almanac did not appear until the following year, though our founder's was in the full tide of success. Banneker does not, however, appear to have imitated the latter's production, even as a weather-prophet. He says, for example, of the weather for February, 1792, "clear cold and windy now expect snow or cold rain clear and moderate for the season but turns to wind and rain toward the end"; while for the same month, Thomas facetiously remarks, "A plenty of snow in these hyperborean climes. A long spell of fair pleasant weather for winter; after which epoch a severe storm from the northeast or some other point if it should happen to come at all; which is very uncertain, tho. I think (as an almanac maker) I may be allowed to guess." Thomas adds a leap-year foot-note to the effect that "maids are allowed to court but not too strongly." We have also two of Bannaker's printed almanacs, viz. those of 1795 and 1796, of seventeen and eighteen unpag'd leaves respectively.

The line title-page of the first named is: Benjamin Bannakers | Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and

Virginia | Almanac, | for the | year of our Lord, 1795; | Being the Third after Leap-Year. | Philadelphia: | Printed for William Gibbons, Cherry Street. Between the title proper and the imprint and occupying more than half of the page, appears a well-drawn picture with the name BANNAKER upon the oval frame which surrounds it. On the second page is "some account of the calculator of this almanac," while on page four, the cut showing the "Anatomy of Man's Body as governed by the Twelve Constellations" exhibits the body of a large, dignified, well-developed African in short clothes, quill in hand, apparently seeking inspiration from the Muses. The line title of the almanac of 1796 is: Bannaker's | Maryland, Kentucky, and North | Carolina | Almanack | and | Ephemeris, | for the Year of our Lord | 1796 | Being Bissextile or Leap-Year; | The Twentieth year of | American Independence | and eighth year of the | Federal Government. | Baltimore: Printed for Philip Edwards, James Keddie, and | Thomas, Andrews and Butler: | And sold at their respective stores, Wholesale and | Retail. The issue of 1795 was from Philadelphia, but that of 1796 was again from Baltimore, and it may be mentioned incidentally that the latter introduces another of the many concerns of which our founder was the head, namely, that of Thomas, Andrews and Butler of Baltimore. While its whole preface—addressed to the Gentle Reader—is highly eulogistic, I venture to copy its closing paragraph, with the lines from Gray and a companion stanza: "The labours of the justly celebrated Bannaker will likewise furnish you with a very important lesson, courteous reader, which you will not find in any other almanac namely, that the Maker of the Universe is no respecter of colours; that the colour of the skin is no ways connected with strength of mind or intellectual powers: that although the God of Nature has marked the face of the African with a darker shade than his brethren he has given him a soul

equally capable of refinement. To the untutored Blacks the following elegant lines of Gray may be applied :—

'Full many a gem of purest ray serene,
The dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear :
Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its sweetness on the desert air.'

Nor you, ye proud, impute to these the fault
If Afric's sons to genius are unborn ;
For Bannaker has prov'd they may acquire a name
As bright, as lasting as your own."

A writer in *Bookmart* of August, 1890, declares that "a great library resembles a populous city ; it would be tiresome, dangerous even to make the acquaintance of everybody ; everyone chooses the society which best pleases him. The majority are contented with the worst company." While we need not accept the last paragraph without qualification, we shall agree that if we are thus to become acquainted with and so to be influenced by those to whom we are introduced, then indeed is the librarian's responsibility a grave one. If your librarian rightly divines this Society's purpose with regard to its library, it is, as our associate, Dr. William F. Poole, librarian of the richly-endowed Newberry Library of reference, has said, "to make it a live educational institution and not a mausoleum of dead books," and this, too, under a protective policy which shall protect. Every librarian is aware that "readers may be broadly divided into three classes, skimmers, readers and students," and also, that members of each class should be discreetly and faithfully served. Our library offers exceptional advantages to those who are pursuing their researches in the departments of biography, genealogy, local history, and American history in general. It is a real pleasure to note its increasing use, especially by students of a high order, although this is only one of the many indications of a forward movement, another proof that there are not a few who believe with Gladstone, that "Books are a living protest on behalf of mental force and

mental life." It has also happened that men of affairs have taken time from active life in trade to enjoy the advantages of our library. Whether alone or aided by us, it has been interesting to note the matter-of-fact way in which problems, for instance in the history of financial methods or of mechanical industries, have been approached and solved. Addison refers to such, and we are fortunate in having some striking examples among our own members, when he says "Knowledge of books in a man of business is a torch, in the hands of one who is willing and able to show those who are bewildered by the way, which leads to prosperity and welfare." I append a suggestive call, to wit: "Have you any merchant's account-books from 1760 to 1770, invoice or journals that would give items, or can you tell me where there are any?" Such books of record are business diaries, from which the mercantile writer of to-day may draw facts and lessons as useful and instructive perhaps, as the man of letters finds in a Sewall, or a Mather diary.

In his paper on "Browsing by a Book-worm" read before the American Library Association, Prof. James K. Hosmer, late of Washington University but now librarian of the Minneapolis Public Library, pleaded for the book-worm's privilege of browsing, and quoted Lord Bacon's saying that "some books are to be brushed merely by the feelers; others to be touched by the mandibles in a more cursory nibble: into still others you may expediently work your way in a considerable perforation, while in the case of a few the demands of duty will not be satisfied until they are thoroughly honey-combed in a labyrinth of burrows." While visiting a far-away library, I was not pleasantly impressed by seeing a placard bearing the legend "Prowlers not wanted." The expression did not seem to be a happy one even in a library, but it reminded your librarian of some excellent searching work by two of our young genealogists and biographers. Their journeyings in search of material resulted in bringing from one town to another, a missing volume of its early records, while in a second,

manuscripts were rescued from the attic of a retired town clerk, taken to the hotel for examination, chronologically arranged, carefully boxed and placed in the town bank for safety and posterity. To secure such material seems to require somewhat of the spirit of the prowler, but the end to be attained—the preservation of local history in its details—appears to justify the means. The local historical society and in its absence the town historian have in the past secured many documents of the class referred to, but in these later days it would seem that each municipality should be the custodian at least of its own records.

In the third report of the Massachusetts Commissioner on the Custody and Condition of the Public Records, to which report reference has already been made, he says "In many towns, a clerk going out of office has carelessly or intentionally neglected to transmit to his successor old records and papers not often referred to which were laid away in some unused closet or shed." I would heartily second the Commissioner's recommendation that "Every retiring town officer be obliged to deliver, under oath, to his successor in office all town records and property."

We have received from Mrs. Morison the Memorial of Dr. Nathaniel H. Morison, for twenty-three years Provost of the Peabody Institute of Baltimore, prepared in part by his daughter, and in part by our associate Dr. Herbert B. Adams, of Johns Hopkins University. In connection with the Institute and as its leading feature, its founder in his letter to the original Board of Trustees called for "an extensive library, to be well-furnished in every department of knowledge—to be maintained for the free use of all persons who may desire to consult it—to satisfy the researches of students who may be engaged in the pursuit of knowledge not ordinarily attainable in the private libraries of the country." While this was to be a reference library it was to be "not a technical one but one founded for the use of the general public." It should be added that the library was the only department which was to be entirely free to the public. In

an "Address to the Public" in 1871, Dr. Morison said with almost prophetic pen, "We cannot create scholars or readers to use our library, but we can make a collection of books which all scholars will appreciate when they shall appear among us, as they surely will some day." And again the same year, in his defence of the management and objects of the Institute, he said, "This was never intended to be a popular institution in the usual acceptance of that word: that is, was never designed like our public schools, for the personal use of the great body of the people. It is not a charity in any other sense than that in which all college endowments are charities. Like colleges, it cannot draw into its halls the great masses of the people. It cannot furnish that kind of entertainment which will attract or interest them. Its aim is higher and nobler than this, but not so popular. It seeks to instruct, to aid in the culture and development of the best minds in every social rank. It excludes none who comply with its conditions. It seeks in its peculiar way to furnish instruction so good and so cheap that none who have the requisite culture to profit by its privileges shall be excluded from them."

It is possible that these forceful words suggest a portion of the far, if not the near, future mission of this Society. Not long since a distinguished foreign visitor replying to your librarian's remark that we hope to become a university city, said, "but on our side of the water you are already recognized as such." There would seem to be at least a peculiar propriety in the American Antiquarian Society's shedding abroad much more light, especially through the great schools of learning which crown the hills of the city of its birth. But whatever lines, new or old, are to be followed, may we continue wisely, safely and steadily to grow in usefulness, which is after all the true test of success.

Respectfully submitted,

EDMUND M. BARTON,
Librarian.

Givers and Gifts.

FROM MEMBERS.

ADAMS, CHARLES FRANCIS, Esq., Quincy.—His "History of Braintree (1639-1708), the North Branch of Braintree (1708-1792), and the Town of Quincy (1792-1889)."

ALDRICH, Hon. P. EMORY, Worcester.—The "Antiquary," in continuation.

ANGELL, JAMES B., LL.D., Ann Arbor, Mich.—His Report as President of Michigan University, 1891.

BANCROFT, MR. HUBERT H., San Francisco, Cal.—His "Literary Industries, a Memoir."

BARTON, MR. EDMUND M., Worcester.—"St. Andrew's Cross," in continuation; and twenty pamphlets.

BOWDITCH, MR. CHARLES P., Boston.—"Die Maya-Handschrift der Königlichen Öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Dresden."

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HILL, Mr. HAMILTON A., Boston.—His “Rev. Joseph Sewall, his youth and early manhood.”

HOADLY, CHARLES J., LL.D., Hartford, Conn.—The Connecticut Register of 1892, containing his paper on “Town Representation”; and two proclamations.

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FROM PERSONS NOT MEMBERS.

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HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.—Their publications, as issued.

HISTORISCHEN VEREINES VON OBERPLAZ UND REGENSBERG.—Their publications, as issued.

HOMAN'S PUBLISHING COMPANY.—Numbers of their "Banker's Magazine."

HYDE PARK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their "Record," as issued.

INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued.

IOWA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their "Record," as issued.

JAMAICA PUBLISHING COMPANY.—Numbers of the "Sportsman and Tourist."

JERSEY CITY FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Its publications, as issued.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.—Its publications, as issued.

KANSAS CITY ACADEMY OF SCIENCE.—Its "Scientist," in continuation.

LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY.—Four pamphlets relating to the University.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued.

MASSACHUSETTS, COMMONWEALTH OF.—Fifteen volumes of Public Documents; and one proclamation.

MASSACHUSETTS GRAND LODGE OF FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS.—Its proceedings, as issued.

MASSACHUSETTS SCHOOL FOR FEEBLE MINDED CHILDREN.—Its Forty-fourth Annual Report.

MASSACHUSETTS STATE BOARD OF HEALTH.—Their reports, as issued.

MINNEAPOLIS PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Its publications, as issued.

MINNESOTA ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES.—Its proceedings, as issued.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their "Collections," as issued.

MUSEO NATIONAL DE RIO DE JANEIRO.—Its publications, as issued.

MUSEO DE LA PLATA.—Its publications, as issued.

NATIONAL CENTRAL LIBRARY OF FLORENCE.—Its publications, as issued.

NATIONAL CENTRAL LIBRARY OF ROME.—Its "Bulletin," as issued.

NATIONAL CIVIL SERVICE REFORM LEAGUE.—One pamphlet.

NATIONAL HISTORY COMPANY.—Numbers of their "National Magazine."

NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued.

NEW YORK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES.—Its publications, as issued.

NEW YORK EVENING POST PRINTING COMPANY.—Their "Nation," as issued.

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their Collections for the year 1885.

NEW YORK MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.—Their publications, as issued.

NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY.—Its publications, as issued.

NEW YORK TYPOTHET.E.—Account of the Annual Dinner, 1892.

NICARAGUA CANAL CONSTRUCTION COMPANY.—"History, Physical Conditions, Plans and Prospects of the Nicaragua Canal."

BERLIN COLLEGE.—Its "Library Bulletin," as issued.

OLD RESIDENT'S HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, LOWELL.—Their "Contributions," Vol. IV., No. 4.

OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY.—Their periodicals, as issued.

PEABODY REPORTER COMPANY.—Their "Reporter," as issued.

PERKINS INSTITUTION, TRUSTEES.—Their Sixtieth Annual Report.

PORTLAND BOARD OF TRADE.—Their Journal, as issued.

PROVIDENCE ATHENÆUM.—The Fifty-sixth Annual Report.

RELIGIOUS HERALD COMPANY.—Their Herald, as issued.

ROCHESTER ACADEMY OF SCIENCE.—Its publications, as issued.

ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND.—Their Journal, as issued.

ST. LOUIS MERCANTILE LIBRARY.—Its publications, as issued.

SALEM PRESS PUBLISHING COMPANY.—Numbers of their "Historical and Genealogical Record."

SALEM PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Third Annual Report, 1891.

SCRANTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Its First Annual Report; and an Account of the Albright Memorial Library Building.

SENTINEL PRINTING COMPANY.—Their "Fitchburg Sentinel," as issued.

SHOE AND LEATHER REPORTER COMPANY.—Their "Reporter," as issued; and their Annual for 1892.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.—Its publications, as issued.

SOCIÉTÉ DE GÉOGRAPHIE.—Their "Bulletin," as issued.

SOCIÉTÉ NATIONALE DES ANTIQUAIRES DE FRANCE.—Their publications, as issued.

SOCIÉTÉ NATIONALE DE FRANCE.—Their publications, as issued.

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.—Their publications, as issued.

SPY PUBLISHING COMPANY.—Their Daily and Weekly Spy, as issued; and three hundred and fifty-seven pamphlets.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN.—Their publications, as issued.

TRAVELERS' INSURANCE COMPANY.—Their "Record," as issued.

TRUSTEES OF PUBLIC RESERVATIONS IN MASSACHUSETTS.—Their First Annual Report.

UNITED STATES BUREAU OF EDUCATION.—Its "Circulars," as issued.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.—Seventy-seven books; and eight pamphlets.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE.—Five books; and thirteen pamphlets.

UNITED STATES LIGHT-HOUSE BOARD.—Johnson's "Modern Light-house Service"; and the Report for 1891.

UNITED STATES TREASURY DEPARTMENT.—One book.

UNITED STATES WAR DEPARTMENT.—Six documents.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.—Its publications, as issued.

W P I, EDITORS OF.—Their magazine, as issued.

WASHINGTON STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their first publication.

WATCHMAN PUBLISHING COMPANY.—Their "Vermont Watchman," as issued.

WESTCHESTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Two of their publications.

WORCESTER BOARD OF HEALTH.—Its "Mortality Reports," as issued.

WORCESTER CITY HOSPITAL, TRUSTEES.—Their Twenty-first Annual Report.

WORCESTER CONFERENCE OF CONGREGATIONAL (UNITARIAN) AND OTHER CHRISTIAN SOCIETIES.—A volume of their early manuscript records.

WORCESTER COUNTY MECHANICS ASSOCIATION.—Twenty-five files of newspapers, in continuation.

WORCESTER COUNTY MUSICAL ASSOCIATION.—Account of their Annual Meeting, 1892.

WORCESTER FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Twenty-one books; two hundred and ninety-five pamphlets; seventy files of newspapers, in continuation; "The Liberator," 1848-65; and "National Anti-Slavery Standard," 1840-69.

WORCESTER NATIONAL BANK.—Two files of newspapers, in continuation.

WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY.—Their "Collections," No. 38.

WORCESTER SOCIETY OF NATURAL HISTORY.—"Natural History Camp-Book, 1892."

WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION, COMMISSIONERS OF.—Plans and circulars relating thereto.

YALE UNIVERSITY.—Its Annual Catalogue, 1891-92.

SOME RHODE ISLAND CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE INTELLECTUAL LIFE OF THE LAST CENTURY.

BY WILLIAM E. FOSTER.

THE history of colonies, ancient and modern, has shown a strikingly uniform experience in one respect. After the strong civilizing forces connected with the first generation of settlers have died away, there has been usually a "dead point" to be passed—if one may use the language of mechanical science—before the results of the civilizing institutions planted in native soil should show themselves. Such a "dead point" is to be observed in the intellectual life of the American colonies, in the century roughly conceived of as closing in 1775; and in the steps which led to the awakening of the colonies from this torpidity, it is certainly a fact of curious interest that the colony of Rhode Island, through the conjunction of certain favorable conditions, was enabled to play a far more influential part than ever before or since.

In all such awakenings, whether in the Italian Renaissance or elsewhere, one finds, as the two essential factors, a competent impulse, generally from without, and a peculiarly prepared or receptive condition, within. In the person of George Berkeley, among others, a very necessary impulse was supplied, in the colony of Rhode Island in the last century; but one cannot fail to be struck with the noteworthy degree in which that colony was congenial soil for the influences transmitted by the English scholar, which may be traced through the widely-separated fields of literature, painting, architecture, science and education.

Among the essentially local conditions which made this result possible, there are three of especial prominence.

One very obvious one is the early impetus given to commercial development at Newport.¹ In several particulars, Boston's commercial operations were larger, but the developing tendencies of New York were not manifested until late in the century,² and in peculiar directions, Newport held a commercial preëminence until the Revolutionary War dealt it an overwhelming blow. The increased material resources for which this fact stood at Newport, were happily considered not as an end in themselves, but as a means to an end, namely, the advancement of art, letters and general culture,—as was indeed the case with the merchant-princes of Florence and Venice. With each new freight sent out, there was a drawing out of the shell of provincial isolation, and with each new freight landed, came a vivifying contact with the world at large. It therefore had already resulted that Newport was far from being a barren wilderness intellectually, when Berkeley arrived there in 1729;—by deliberate purpose from the first, as appears from the papers published by Dr. Fraser in his life of the Dean; perhaps, he says, in order “to establish friendly correspondence with influential New Englanders.”³ The people of Newport “loved learning,”⁴—to quote from the accomplished annalist of the Redwood Library and Trinity Church, Mr. George C. Mason,—“and they had books to feed that love.”⁵ Their ships⁶ “brought to them the best products of the English press, with contributions from Geneva and Amsterdam; books that were read, and discussed, and handed down as heirlooms—mentioned with minuteness in wills—from father to son.”⁷ Another

¹ Weeden's “Economic history of New England,” v. 2, p. 583.

² Cf. the interesting comparison between Newport and New York, in Proceedings at Installation of President Low of Columbia College, p. 60.

³ Berkeley's “Works,” v. 4, p. 155.

⁴ Mason's “Annals of the Redwood Library,” p. 9.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁶ “Rarely did a vessel sail for England without taking out an order for new books.” Mason's “Reminiscences of Newport,” p. 201.

⁷ Mason's “Redwood Library,” pp. 9, 10. In a foot-note, instances are cited from wills before 1734.

phase of Rhode Island society to be noticed, across the Narragansett Bay, in what was long known as the Narragansett Country, was a condition of society not identical indeed with that at Newport, but analogous to it. Though they were themselves largely interested financially in the commercial ventures of Newport, the Narragansett planters, with farms, in some instances of thousands of acres, and with slavery on a large scale, represented "a state of society which," to quote from the careful study¹ made of it by our associate, Dr. Edward Channing, "has no parallel in New England." "The later leaders of Narragansett society,"² says Dr. Channing, "were, for the most part, well-educated men," enjoying "the teachings of the best tutors,"³ and possessing a refinement which was a natural result of their peculiar social development.

There is a second local condition to be noticed; namely, the openness of the colony of Rhode Island to outside influences. Very naturally, as growing out of the circumstances of their settlement, this was in striking contrast with the Puritan colonies by which she was bordered. We are not now concerned with the matter of liberty of conscience in questions of religion, but with the broader subject of freedom of thought in any field; though undoubtedly Berkeley, as the English church dignitary, would have been in 1729 appreciably less welcome at Boston, where there had been the fiercest opposition to the holding of the English church services since 1686, when the liturgy was read here (*i. e.*, in Boston) for the first time,⁴ than in Rhode Island, which was becoming something of a stronghold of the Church of England on this continent.⁵

¹ Channing's "Narragansett planters," p. 23.

² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

³ Compare Fraser, in Berkeley's "Works," v. 4, p. 158.

⁴ Sewall's "Diary," May 30, 1686 (5 Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, v. 5, pp. 142-3.)

⁵ Bishop Perry's "History of the American Episcopal Church," v. 1, pp. 177, 539.

What, however, of Berkeley as the man of letters, the representative on our shores of the Age of Queen Anne in English literature, the man who in 1713 was associated with Steele as one of the contributors of brilliant essays to the *Guardian*, and was in almost equal closeness of association with Pope, Addison and Swift?¹ Mr. Delano A. Goddard, formerly editor of the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, in his very thorough review of "The press and literature of the provincial period," in 1881, remarks: "The remarkable literary revival of Queen Anne's reign was little observed or felt here"² (i. e., in Boston). Dr. Palfrey, in his 4th volume, calls attention to the fact that in the 1723 catalogue of what was then the largest library in the province,—the Harvard College library,—one looks in vain for the works of Addison, Pope, Steele, or Swift³; and another representative catalogue of more than eight hundred titles printed in 1734, is also cited by Dr. Palfrey,⁴ wherein "no copy appears, of either Shakespeare or of Milton." But at about this same time, 1723–33, as may be learned from manuscript records of various kinds, there were in private libraries at Newport, such books as Spenser's "Faerie Queene," the first folio edition of 1609; Butler's "Hudibras," James Howell's "Epistolae Ho-Elianae," Milton's "Samson Agonistes," and the 1688 edition of Dionysius, in the Greek.⁵ No one of these books was in the Harvard College library, nor did it contain any copy of Ben Jonson. Judge Samuel Sewall, in 1706, while on a journey through Rhode Island, records in his "Diary" the fact of his finding "a folio" edition of Ben Jonson (whether that of 1631, 1641, or 1692, does not

¹ Fraser's "Life of Berkeley" (in "Works," v. 4, ch. 3).

² "Memorial history of Boston," v. 2., p. 413.

³ Palfrey's "New England," v. 4, p. 384.

⁴ *Ibid.* This is "A catalogue of books on all arts and sciences, to be sold at the shop of T. Cox." Boston, 1734.

⁵ Mason's "Redwood Library," pp. 10, 11.

appear), in a Rhode Island country house.¹ Dr. Channing, in his paper on the Narragansett Country, already quoted, says: "McSparran, Fayerweather, and Robinson are said to have possessed large collections of books, and we know that Colonel Updike, who lived in the middle of the last century, had a library" which is described as "full of treasures," naming among other works in it a 1686 edition of the *Iliad*, in Greek, as well as Pope's translation; a 1520 edition of *Theognis*, in Greek; Ovid, in Latin; Virgil, Sallust, and Terence, in English translations; Johnson's "Lexicon Chymicum," 1678; Erasmus's *Colloquies*, in Latin; and Molière's Plays, in an English translation.² Within the last twelve months also, a gift has been made to the Providence Public Library,³ of more than one hundred and fifty pamphlets and other publications, accumulated through five successive generations of this same Updike family, of the utmost interest as showing what matters,—music,⁴ the drama, belles-lettres, English polities, poetry, etc.,—occupied the attention of thinking and reading men in Rhode Island before 1800. It is noteworthy that we find both in the Newport and the Narragansett⁵ communities the conjunction, by no means common in the colonies at that time, of instruction by private tutors representing the best English training, with notable private collections of books. We are therefore not unprepared for Mr. Mason's statement, in showing how naturally the movement came about which resulted in the Redwood Library corporation (and many of the books above named came in due time to that library⁶), that the social surroundings of

¹ *5 Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections*, v. 6, p. 167.

² Channing's "Narragansett planters," pp. 7, 8.

³ Fourteenth annual report of the Providence Public Library, p. 5.

⁴ "The gift of an organ to Trinity Church from Dean Berkeley," says Mr. Mason, "quickly followed his departure from Newport." (Mason's "Annals of Trinity Church, Newport," p. 58. See also p. 139.)

⁵ Channing's "Narragansett planters," p. 7.

⁶ Mason's "Redwood Library," p. 11. A catalogue of the several hundred volumes purchased for the library in 1748, fills pages 494 to 514 of the same work.

the people of Newport were such as to cause them to appreciate Dean Berkeley's learning, while, he says, "the Dean found in them congenial companions,—men who could sustain their part in a discussion when they came together,—meeting at first informally, and then as an organized body."¹

What shall we say, however, of Berkeley as the great idealist in philosophy, the formulator of "subjective idealism,"—to use the epithet of Kant,²—the third in rank of all British speculative thinkers, in the judgment of Mr. Royce?³ It is in this very feature that we find the third and last of those local conditions which we have been considering. From the first, the idealistic habit of thought or temper of mind has had its representatives in Rhode Island. In this regard, Ex-President Porter, of Yale University, finds Roger Williams and Berkeley "in many particulars, kindred spirits"⁴; but it is altogether probable that sufficient weight has not hitherto been given to the debt which is due to the Friends, who, when repulsed from the other colonies, found a congenial abiding place in every corner of Rhode Island territory, and by the year 1700 constituted about one-half of its population, "owned nearly one-third of the meeting-houses,"⁵ and held a large percentage of the public offices,—as a natural consequence, of course, largely influencing the thought of the colony.

It is by no means necessary to admire or even to justify all the acts committed by the Quakers in their "invasion" of New England, to be impressed by a certain side of their teachings,—that side doubtless which so appealed to gentle Charles Lamb when he wrote in his "Essays of Elia": "Get the writings of John Woolman by heart; and love

¹ Mason's "Redwood Library," p. 9.

² Berkeley's "Works," v. 4, p. 388.

³ Royce's "Spirit of modern philosophy," p. 93.

⁴ Porter's "Two-hundredth birthday of Berkeley," p. 37.

⁵ Mason's "Trinity Church," p. 10.

the early Quakers.”¹ The intellectual attitude held by the Friends towards the “inward light” has indeed repeatedly been the natural starting-point of idealism in thought and life. “As iron sharpeneth iron,” so unquestionably the numerous opportunities which Berkeley’s contact with these Newport thinkers gave him, for discussions on philosophical subjects,—particularly with his fellow-members of the “Literary and Philosophical Society”² formed in 1730,—afforded him a natural medium for putting into organized form views which he, no doubt, had long held in less definite shape. In “Alciphron,” the “largest, and probably the most popular of Berkeley’s works,”—to use the language of Dr. Fraser,³—and written wholly during his residence at Newport,⁴ we have what the distinguished writer just cited accurately calls “a fresh proclamation of Berkeley’s spiritual philosophy”⁵ and it is one which we can easily believe to have been written, chapter by chapter, after an hour or two of discussion at the “Society,” or, when seated, as attested by local and contemporary accounts, at the “Hanging Rocks,”⁶ near Newport, with the ever-sounding sea at his feet, and the most charming of landscapes within reach of his gaze. His “Alciphron,” indeed, achieves the double distinction of being cast in the form of dialogues which, to quote Dr. Fraser, the Edinburgh scholar, “are better fitted than any [others] in our language to enable the English reader to realize the

¹ Lamb’s “Essays of Elia.”—“A Quakers’ meeting.”

² Pages 1-30 of Mason’s “Annals of the Redwood Library” are devoted to this Society,—its predecessor. At pp. 12-15 are copied the “Rules and regulations” of this Society, which it is instructive to compare with the “Statutes” of the earlier (1705) “Society,” at Trinity College, Dublin, to which Berkeley had belonged. Berkeley’s “Works,” v. 4, pp. 23-5.

³ Berkeley’s “Works,” v. 2, p. 3.

⁴ 1729-31. It was published in London, on his return, in 1732. An American reprint, under the charge of President Dwight, appeared at New Haven in 1803.

⁵ Berkeley’s “Works,” v. 4, p. 196.

⁶ Berkeley’s “Works,” v. 4, p. 168: Porter’s “Berkeley,” p. 48.

charm of Cicero and Plato"; and at the same time, to quote Dr. Porter, the New Haven scholar, are abounding "in local color and allusions." He adds: "One who stands on Honyman's Hill, and turns over its pages, can follow with his eye the several features of the landscape which the author wrought into his pictures of nature and of life. Even a group of fox-hunters rushes across the landscape as Berkeley had seen them many a time in Narragansett."¹ It is no wonder that his biographer remarks: "The cosmopolitan Berkeley has left curiously few local impressions at any of the places where he lived, perhaps more in Rhode Island than anywhere else."² The island still acknowledges that, by his visit, it has been touched with the halo of a great and sacred reputation."³

The best of testimony to the indigenous nature of these idealistic tendencies in Rhode Island, and to the peculiarly local conditions which we have enumerated, is found in the fact that on Berkeley's sudden and unexpected return to England they did not die out, nor even languish. Four years later, in 1735,⁴ we find the society rendering its organization more definite, and twelve years later it received incorporation from the General Assembly of the colony,⁵ under the name of "The Company of the Redwood Library." Mr. Mason's exhaustive studies⁶ of these

¹ Berkeley's "Works," v. 2, p. 3.

² Porter's "Berkeley," pp. 48-9.

³ "He appears," says Dr. Porter, "not to have travelled in New England," p. 41. Rev. Joseph Sewall's diary and Benjamin Walker's diary mention him as being at Boston and Cambridge in the month in which he returned to England. (Cited in H. A. Hill's "History of the Old South Church," v. 1, p. 457.)

⁴ Aquidneck, or "Rhode Island"; the island on which Newport is situated. Whitehall, Berkeley's estate, although in 1729 in the corporate limits of Newport, has, since 1748, formed a part of the town of Middletown. For his visits to Narragansett, see below.

⁵ Berkeley's "Works," v. 4, p. 100.

⁶ Mason's "Redwood Library," p. 12.

⁷ R. I. Col. Records, v. 5, p. 227.

⁸ Based almost exclusively on the original records (printed in his volumes) which had often been consulted in manuscript, but are now, fortunately, accessible to students.

early years have enabled us to see more clearly than ever before, not only how wide were the ramifications of Berkeley's influence, through literary and philosophical channels, but also through various artistic and scientific channels; in the one case chiefly of local origin, in the other more closely identified with the company of men who came from England to Rhode Island either with Berkeley or in these same years of his residence at Newport.

For there is an aspect of Berkeley's many-sided character which we have not yet noticed; namely, Berkeley as the promoter of science and art, the Englishman who, in his seven years' absence (1713-1720) on the continent, had placed himself in closest contact with the fruits of the Renaissance in Italy, and who now transmitted the results of this contact not only to England, but to America as well. Among those who were associated with Berkeley in Italy¹ was John Smibert, a Royal Academician.² He had been for some time in Italy, studying there the great masterpieces of Raphael, Titian, Van Dyck and others.³ When Berkeley sailed for America, Smibert sailed with him, enough of an idealist, like himself, to be enchanted,—so we are told,—with Berkeley's far-reaching plan for civilizing the western world. To the very thorough researches of Mr. Augustus T. Perkins, twelve years ago, we owe a most creditable nucleus of a descriptive catalogue⁴ of such portraits from Smibert's hand as can now be identified, found as they are in various portions of Rhode Island, at New Haven, at Worcester, in the Memorial Hall at Cambridge, in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, on the walls of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and else-

¹ Berkeley's "Works," v. 4, p. 153.

² Walpole's "Anecdotes of painting in England," v. 2, p. 673.

³ Walpole, v. 2, p. 673. His copy of Van Dyck's portrait of Cardinal Bentivoglio now hangs in the Memorial Hall at Harvard University. (Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, v. 16, pp. 393-4.)

⁴ Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, v. 16, pp. 393-9, 474-5; v. 17, pp. 94-7.

where here in Boston. There are, besides, many in private ownership in this city and the neighborhood.

The curiously prophetic foot-note in Horace Walpole's account of Smibert (in his "Anecdotes of painting in England"), has a decided interest, considering the date at which it was written. He says: "As our disputes and politics have travelled to America, is it not probable that poetry and painting too will revive amidst those extensive tracts?"¹ Prophetic indeed as regards Rhode Island is this remark, for although Boston became his home at some period² after the sudden departure of Berkeley, Smibert heads a distinguished line of artists who have been identified with Rhode Island, either by birth or residence, in the last one hundred and fifty years,—Cosmo Alexander of Newport, who taught Stuart³; Gilbert Stuart, himself, born in the Narragansett Country; Robert Feke, of Newport⁴; Edward G. Malbone, of Newport; Washington Allston, who studied painting at Newport; and William Morris Hunt, who in comparatively recent years studied there. There seems to be no good reason for believing that Smibert gave lessons (as suggested by Dunlap)⁵ to Copley,—who was apparently a spiritual child of that early American artist, Peter Pelham, as Mr. William H. Whitmore's researches⁶ have shown for us. Yet Copley, like Allston, may have learned from Smibert's work even if not from himself. Allston remarks: "I am grateful to Smybert for the instruction he, or rather his

¹ Walpole's "Anecdotes of painting," v. 2, p. 673.

² During Berkeley's stay at Newport Smibert accompanied the Dean to Narragansett, remaining there some time. Stiles's Connecticut Election Sermon, 1788 ("The United States elevated to glory and honor," pp. 11, 12; Updike's "Narragansett," pp. 523-4). It would appear that some of his portraits of Rhode Island sitters were painted at this time. A letter by Smibert, dated Sept. 22, 1735 (now in the possession of Mr. George C. Mason), shows him to have been then at Boston.

³ Mason's "Gilbert Stuart," pp. 6, 7.

⁴ Tuckerman's "Book of the artists," p. 47.

⁵ Dunlap's "Arts of design," v. 1, p. 22.

⁶ Whitmore's "Notes concerning Peter Pelham," etc., p. 18.

work, gave me."¹ Rhode Island has thus been enabled to make enviable contributions to this phase of aesthetic development.

Architecture is another of the arts, the development of which on our shores has an interesting connection with Berkeley's Italian sojourn. Berkeley's own extensive architectural designs were probably carried back to England with him (and were afterwards known to be preserved in his family);² but those of Peter Harrison, the English architect, who arrived in Newport during Berkeley's residence there, and who had while in England been associated³ with Sir John Vanbrugh, in the planning and construction of Blenheim House,⁴ are embodied in buildings familiar to us all. Here in Boston, King's Chapel,⁵ erected 1749, and across the Charles, Christ Church,⁶ Cambridge, completed in 1761, perpetuate his name.⁷ Harrison's residence appears to have been for a time at Newport; then in Boston; then, after a brief return to England, in Newport once more, since we find him spoken of in the description of Christ Church, by a former rector, Rev. Dr. Nicholas Hoppin, as "Mr. Peter Harrison, then (1759) residing at Newport, Rhode Island, whose designs of public buildings have been much admired for correct taste."⁸ A letter still

¹ Tuckerman's "Book of the artists," p. 43.

² Berkeley's "Works," v. 4, p. 153.

³ "Memorial history of Boston," v. 4, p. 409; U. S. govt. report on "Public libraries," 1876, pt. 1, p. 15.

⁴ Blenheim House, completed 1715, is described with illustrations in Eccles's "New guide to Blenheim Palace," 14th ed., 1805; also, in the *Cosmopolitan*, Jan., 1890, v. 8, pp. 317-24; *Illustrated London News*, v. 87, pp. 462-6; and Rimmer's "Pleasant spots around Oxford," pp. 206-28.

⁵ "Memorial history of Boston," v. 2, p. 498, v. 4, pp. 469-70; Greenwood's "History of King's Chapel," pp. 110, 118-20.

⁶ "A sermon on the reopening of Christ Church, Cambridge, Mass., * * * with a historical notice," by Rev. Dr. Nicholas Hoppin. Boston, 1858, p. 23.

⁷ "The interior of King's Chapel," says Mr. C. A. Cummings, "was the first in the colony to exhibit real architectural merit." (Memorial history of Boston, v. 4, p. 470.)

⁸ Bishop Perry's "History of the American Episcopal Church," v. 1, p. 589.

It is also corroborated by the language of the manuscript "Record of votes and resolutions," &c., of the King's Chapel Committee in 1749, printed in Greenwood's "King's Chapel," p. 118, namely: "Mr. Harrison of Rhode Island."

preserved, dated November 24, 1759, and signed by a committee of the Society of Christ Church, says: "We have applied to a masterly architect for a plan."¹ In regard to one of the three buildings² with which Harrison enriched the Newport community, which he chiefly made his home, namely, the Redwood Library building, erected 1750, an architect of our own time—Mr. George C. Mason—who had occasion to make professional measurements in 1875 thus testifies: "The building erected by Harrison was most carefully planned and studied; its proportions, details, columns, etc., being in strict accord with the rules of classic architecture."³ It is of interest to note, as confirming the view of early society in Newport already referred to, that Trinity Church, Newport, a most interesting specimen of colonial architecture, was completed in 1726, almost half a dozen years before Harrison's arrival there, and is attributed by Mr. Mason to Richard Munday, of Newport.⁴ The details of this building, as well as the later development of colonial architecture at Providence, give evidence of close study from English models.

The ramifications of Berkeley's influence are seen, however, in science as well as art. In 1729 (in the year of Berkeley's arrival, though not in the same ship⁵), there arrived at Newport the first of a line of several thoroughly well educated physicians who made their home in that town; namely, Dr. Thomas Moffatt,⁶ a native of Edinburgh. His preparation for medical practice was obtained in succession at the University of Edinburgh, and the University of Leyden, a circumstance of some curious interest, as pre-

¹ Bishop Perry's "History of the American Episcopal Church," v. 1, p. 580; Hoppin, p. 23.

² Mentioned by Mr. Mason ("Trinity Church," p. 114).

³ Mason's "Redwood Library," p. 36.

⁴ Mason's "Trinity Church," pp. 43, 51.

⁵ Peters's "Sermon" . . . "on the death of Thomas Moffatt, M.D." (London, 1787), cited in Mason's "Redwood Library," p. 29.

⁶ Mason's "Redwood Library," pp. 27-30; Sabine's "Biographical sketches of loyalists of the American Revolution" (ed. 1864), v. 2, p. 85; the latter account being incorrect in several of its details.

cisely the same order of succession was observed in the medical studies of Dr. Thomas Brett,¹ who arrived at Newport as early as 1735; Dr. William Hunter² (cousin and namesake of one of the most eminent surgeons of that century in Europe), who arrived at Newport in 1752; and, among those native to the soil, Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse,³ born in Newport in 1754, of Quaker parentage, who was chosen in 1783 Hersey Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic in the Harvard Medical School,—the first to occupy the chair,—and who retained that position until 1812.⁴ A variation from the routine of Edinburgh and Leyden is, however, to be observed in Dr. Sylvester Gardiner, born in South Kingstown, Rhode Island, in 1717, who began practice here in Boston as early as 1761⁵; and Dr. Solomon Drowne, born in Providence, R. I., in 1753,⁶ both of whom pursued their medical studies at London and Paris.⁷ Both Dr. Gardiner and Dr. Waterhouse were honorably connected with movements for prevention against small-pox, by inoculation,⁸ and by vaccination.⁹ To two of these educated physicians, also, we are indebted for the steps making possible Gilbert Stuart's brilliant career,—to Dr. Moffatt, at whose request Stuart's father came over to Rhode Island,¹⁰ and to Dr. Hunter, who first discovered the young painter's genius and gave him commissions.¹¹

¹ Also a member of Berkeley's Society. Mason's "Redwood Library," pp. 16, 17.

² R. I. Hist. Soc. Collections, v. 7, p. 251.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 255.

⁴ Harvard Quinquennial catalogue, 1890, p. 30.

⁵ Sabine's "Loyalists," v. 1, pp. 459-62.

⁶ Bartlett's "Descendants of John Russell," pp. 111-15.

⁷ Sabine, v. 1, p. 459; Bartlett, p. 111.

⁸ Dr. Gardiner. See his letter to the town of Boston, 1761; Dr. Samuel A. Green's centennial address on the "History of medicine in Massachusetts," p. 78; Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, v. 4, pp. 324-9.

⁹ Dr. Waterhouse. See R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll., v. 7, pp. 259, 60.

¹⁰ Mason's "Redwood Library," p. 28.

¹¹ Mason's "Gilbert Stuart," p. 6.

In the native membership of the "Society," as represented by Henry Collins,¹ James Honyman,² Abraham Redwood,³ and others in Newport, as well as in the case of Daniel Updike,⁴ of the Narragansett Country, one can easily recognize the evidences of the intellectual life above indicated. Down to about the year 1740, it was far otherwise with the northern part of the colony,—Providence and the vicinity. The extraordinary pluck, energy and enterprise by which, chiefly between 1740 and 1760, Stephen Hopkins,—the only Providence man in Berkeley's "Society,"—brought about a complete reversal of the attitude of isolation and torpidity which had heretofore dominated the Providence community, constitutes one of the most interesting chapters in the annals of social development. Through his efforts and those of his associates,⁵ a printing-press was set up, a public market established, the streets paved, a fire department established, a book-store and a public library opened, wharves and docks extended, and a flourishing foreign and domestic commerce built up. By 1760, there were more than eighty-four vessels⁶ owned by Providence merchants, and the next seven years⁷ showed a very striking increase and extension of her commerce. With the rise of her commerce the natural results followed in Providence as elsewhere. Not only was it the case that in due time the ships of the Browns, the Nightingales and the Russells, of Providence, as those of the Malbones of

¹ A native of Newport, 1699; educated in England; a patron of "literature and the fine arts." (Mason's "Redwood Library," pp. 26-7; *Newport Historical Magazine*, v. 2, p. 88.)

² Son of the first rector of Trinity Church, Newport.

³ Donor of the Redwood Library.

⁴ See sketch of him in W. Updike's "History of the Episcopal Church in Narragansett," p. 118-19. He was an intimate friend of Berkeley, who was a visitor at his house, and who presented him with a silver coffee pot, still owned in the family. (Updike, p. 119.)

⁵ Foster's "Stephen Hopkins," pt. 1, ch. 5.

⁶ Letter of Moses Brown to Tristam Burges, Jan. 12, 1836. (MS. owned by R. I. Hist. Soc.)

⁷ Report to town, 1767; cited in petition of 1778. (Staples's "Annals of Providence," p. 282.)

Newport, and the Higginsons of Salem,¹ were whitening every sea with their sails, but one begins to recognize the spreading throughout that community also of an enlightened interest, not only in science but in art. This is testified by the notable instances of colonial architecture,² belonging chiefly to the years 1770-1800, which have given Providence in our own day an enviable name among architects, and of colonial furniture³ also; as well as by the notable achievement in astronomy, to be noticed later, and also in what may be properly entitled *belles-lettres*. The printing-press set up at Providence in 1762 was only in its fifth year when there appeared from it a reprint of the "Letters of the Right Honourable Lady M—y W—y M—e"⁴, etc. Providence, 1766. This is the series of her letters written during Mr. Wortley's residence at Constantinople as English ambassador, and the one which Lord Jeffrey⁵ described as "unrivalled, we think, by any epistolary compositions in our language." One can understand, for instance, the reprinting in the American colonies in the last century, of such a work as Sidney on "Government," or even of Blackstone's "Commentaries," in view of the eager interest in the relations of the colonies to the mother country, which was then fast developing; but the interest which would lead to the reprinting of such a work as these

¹ Batchelor's "Social equilibrium," pp. 280-2; Higginson's "Travellers and outlaws," p. 14; Cleveland's "Voyages of a merchant navigator," pp. 7, 8.

² *American Architect*, v. 21, plate 577; v. 22, plate 610 (1887). Corner and Soderholtz's "Examples of domestic colonial architecture in New England," (1891).

³ Dr. Irving W. Lyon's "Colonial furniture in New England." Dr. Lyon here reprints (pp. 265-6), a "table of prices," for the year 1757, agreed upon by six Providence cabinet-makers engaged in supplying the demand for chests, cases of drawers with "claws," etc. Compare Mason's "Reminiscences of Newport," pp. 49, 50.

⁴ Reprinted from the 4th London edition. The original edition, London, 1763 (the year succeeding the author's death), also suppressed, as in the case of this edition, the full name of the writer;—Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. See *Gentleman's Magazine*, v. 33, p. 259.

⁵ *Edinburgh Review*, July, 1808, v. 2, p. 512; reprinted in Jeffrey's "Contributions to the *Edinburgh Review*," v. 3, p. 561. (1848.)

"Letters" must have been almost purely literary, with no intermingling of practical or ulterior ends. The distinguished founder of our own society, Isaiah Thomas, in his "Catalogue of publications" ¹ before 1776, enables us to gain a very vivid idea of the literature which issued from the American printing-presses of that period, and engaged the attention of American readers,—often enough, indeed, a depressingly monotonous succession of funeral sermons on persons killed by lightning, alternated with discourses on total depravity. In view of this tendency, the fact that the following publications were included in a single decade's issues of the Providence printing-press,—at first under the charge of William Goddard and others, and later of John Carter, an apprentice and associate of Benjamin Franklin at Philadelphia,—is of no little interest:

- (1) 1762 (continued in 1765). "An historical account of the planting and growth of Providence," by Stephen Hopkins. (In the pages of the *Providence Gazette*.)
- (2) 1763. "Verses on Doctor Mayhew's Book of observations on the charter and conduct of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel." By a gentleman of Rhode Island colony. Providence: William Goddard, 1763.
- (3) 1764. "The rights of colonies examined." By Stephen Hopkins. Providence: William Goddard, 1764. (Later ed. 1765.)
- (4) 1766. "Thanksgiving discourse on the repeal of the Stamp Act." By David S. Rowland. Providence: Sarah Goddard & Co., 1766.
- (5) 1766. "Letters of the Right Honourable Lady M—y W—y M—e."² Providence: Sarah Goddard & Co., 1766.
- (6) 1768. "Discourse in Providence, July 25, 1768, at the dedication of the tree of liberty." By Silas Downer. Providence: John Waterman, 1768.
- (7) 1768. "Catalogue of all the books belonging to the Providence Library." Providence: Waterman & Russell, 1768.
- (8) 1769. "An account of the observation of Venus upon the sun, the third day of June, 1769, at Providence in New England, with some account of the use of these observations." By Benjamin West. Providence: John Carter, 1769.³

¹ "Archæologia Americana," v. 6, pp. 309-666.

² Already mentioned above.

³ Of the above, only Nos. 2, 4, 6, 7 and 8 are in Thomas's "Catalogue."

The comprehensive range of this list, comprising as it does, poetry, political science, history, belles-lettres, bibliography and astronomy, would be not at all discreditable to a New England town of 5,000 inhabitants, even in the nineteenth century.

Although the reader will fail to discover in Berkeley's writings any tendency towards historical studies, there is every reason why methods such as his should have left such a tendency behind him in Rhode Island. Not until definite steps have been taken towards the accumulating of written and printed materials in libraries, is any community likely to witness the rise of a local annalist. The earliest of writers within the limits of this colony to undertake any comprehensive account of it for publication were both members of Berkeley's "Society" at Newport,—the Rev. John Callender¹ and Gov. Stephen Hopkins.

How early in life the historical instinct had had a footing in Stephen Hopkins's mind, cannot be certainly known. A strong bent in this direction may have been given to it by his access when a boy to a notable "circulating library,"² for those times, established near the home of his grandparents in the earlier years of the eighteenth century. "He himself began early to collect a library of his own,"³ which, says one who was able to examine it, "was large and valuable for the time."⁴ "His visits to Newport, begun as early as 1732, and continued without interruption, several times in each year,"⁵ doubtless made him familiar with the treasures of the Redwood Library. "Like Franklin," he and his associates in Providence "found no good bookseller's shop"⁶ in his own town at first, and in consequence,

¹ A native of Boston; a graduate from Harvard College, 1723; author of the first attempt at a historical view of the Rhode Island colony, the "Historical Discourse," 1739 (reprinted as v. 4 of the R. I. Hist. Soc. Collections).

² Foster's "Stephen Hopkins," pt. 1, p. 46.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 48-9.

⁴ C. C. Beaman's "History of Scituate," p. 18.

⁵ Foster's "Stephen Hopkins," pt. 1, p. 127.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pt. 1, p. 128.

"raised and sent to England a sum of money sufficient to purchase books to furnish a small library,"¹ and before long advanced to the point of making it "a public subscription library,"² apparently as early as 1750. In 1754, a memorial of this early "Providence Library,"—of which the Providence Athenaeum³ of our day is the successor,—appears on the records of the General Assembly,⁴ and in 1768, there was printed the catalogue of its books already mentioned;—a very significant commentary on the stage of advancement then reached in that town. "Aside from these two public subscription libraries in this small colony of Rhode Island, there was for some time after the middle of the century only one other in New England outside of Boston."⁵ Hopkins himself was a close and severe student, "a man," says Judge Durfee,⁶ "of extraordinary capacity," "omnivorous of knowledge, which his energetic mind rapidly converted into power," a characterization which is strikingly confirmed by President John Adams's⁷ well-known reference to his wide range of reading. He had some very marked qualifications for the task of chronicling the colony's history, if we may judge from Moses Brown's testimony. "Holding all abridgments and abridgers," so runs the account,⁸ "in very low estimation," "he perseveringly perused" the original sources of information. To him indeed are all subsequent writers indebted for the amassing and preservation of those manuscript sources of Rhode Island history whose treasures have not even yet been fully discovered and made available.

¹ Foster's "Stephen Hopkins," p. 129.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, pt. 1, p. 131.

⁴ R. I. Col. Records, v. 5, pp. 378-9.

⁵ Foster's "Stephen Hopkins," pt. 1, pp. 47-8, 132-3; U. S. govt. report on "Public libraries," 1876, pt. 1, pp. 19, 15.

⁶ "Gleanings from the judicial history of Rhode Island," pp. 92-3.

⁷ John Adams's "Works," v. 3, pp. 11, 12.

⁸ Printed in Sanderson's "Signers," v. 6, p. 248. As an instance, Thurloe's "State papers" is mentioned by Hunter as a work which Governor Hopkins "read through and annotated." (*Newport Historical Magazine*, v. 2, p. 141.)

There is reason to believe that Governor Hopkins's efforts at collecting this manuscript material began quite early in life—perhaps so early as 1740. Most of it was handed over by him to Senator Theodore Foster, himself a most assiduous antiquarian during the half-century from 1775 to 1825¹. After Governor Hopkins had become convinced that the infirmities of age and other reasons would prevent his completing his original design, he offered to further a similar purpose on the part of Senator Foster, by furnishing him written materials and verbal information. Senator Foster states: "It was agreed that I should, one afternoon in a week, go to his house for that purpose. I accordingly did so for some time."² The pupil whom Governor Hopkins had apparently inspired with his own deep interest, most signally furthered his work of securing original authorities; "not only collecting," says Mr. Samuel G. Arnold,³ the historian who has in our century built upon the labors of both of them, "a very large number of original papers" in addition to those of Governor Hopkins, but making "copies of nearly the whole of the colony records."⁴ The accumulations of both scholars comprise the invaluable collection known as the "Foster Papers," amounting,—originals and copies,—to about one thousand.⁵ They are preserved in eighteen bound volumes,⁶ now in the possession of the Rhode Island Historical Society. When it is remembered that the efforts of these two men preceded the formation of any local historical society in the State, for the collection and preservation of such material, it will be seen how largely they have laid succeeding generations under obligation. Theodore Foster had been since 1800 a corre-

¹ Senator from Rhode Island in the First Congress of the United States, and holding his seat for thirteen years, 1790 to 1803.

² *Foster Papers*, v. 6, p. 19.

Arnold's "History of Rhode Island," v. 1, pp. v., vi.

⁴ *Ibid.*, v. 1, pp. v., vi.

⁵ R. I. Hist. Soc. *Collections*, v. 7, p. 8.

⁶ Report on "The library and cabinet of the Rhode Island Historical Society," 1892, pp. 7, 8.

sponding member of the Massachusetts Historical Society,¹ and was one of the founders of the Rhode Island Historical Society in 1822.²

Governor Hopkins's use of his own materials in any connected form was, as already stated, on a scale so limited as to disappoint his own larger expectations, and yet, even in this fragmentary condition, "The planting and growth of Providence,"³ — it has much to attract our interest. It is significant that the very first issue of the *Providence Gazette*, October 20, 1762, contained, among other matters, the first instalment of his history. Later, in 1765, the publication,—interrupted, as the publisher tells us, by the pressure of public duties during the Seven Years' War,⁴— was resumed, and carried through eight numbers of that paper. "A somewhat remarkable degree of critical research and judicial fairness of temper are plainly observable in his historical writings. These are qualities not altogether common among writers of his time."⁵

Almost at the same time that Governor Hopkins was at work on this narrative, his wife's kinsman, Thomas Hutchinson,—not himself a native of Rhode Island, although his ancestor was,—was engaged on his history of the adjoining colony of Massachusetts Bay, a work conspicuous for these same qualities of critical research and judicial fairness, and in the judgment of many scholars,—including our associate, Dr. Jameson,⁶—reaching the highest level of historical writing in this country in that century.

Nor is this catalogue of the Providence Library without its interest, as showing what reading the inhabitants of Providence cared for. Of the Queen Anne literature, already referred to above, it contained full sets of Pope, Swift

¹ Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, v. 1, p. 134-5.

² R. I. Hist. Soc. Collections, v. 1, p. 8.

³ Reprinted (1885) in R. I. Hist. Soc. Collections, v. 7, pp. 15-65.

⁴ *Providence Gazette*, Jan. 12, 1765.

⁵ Foster's "Stephen Hopkins," pt. 1, p. 134.

⁶ Jameson's "History of historical writing in America," pp. 70-9.

and Addison, the *Spectator*, the *Tatler*, and the *Guardian*. It contained Homer, Plato, Shakespeare, Milton and Bacon. History is well represented in Thucydides, Plutarch, Sallust, Tacitus, Clarendon, Hume, Burnet, Prince's "New England chronology," etc., as well as Herrera and La Hontan. Other lines of reading are represented by Congreve, Vanbrugh, and Gay's "Beggar's Opera"; others by Coke, Vattel, Puffendorff and Grotius, and Thurloe's "State papers"; others by Baker on the "Microscope," Woodward on "Fossils," Boerhaave on "Chemistry," Sir Isaac Newton's "Principia," and Benjamin Franklin's "Experiments and observations on electricity,"—then of quite recent publication, and in the opinion of Dr. Charles W. Parsons,—a nephew of Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes,—of peculiar Rhode Island interest, owing to the very influential character of some suggestions of Newport origin,¹ when brought to Benjamin Franklin's notice.

There is another series of ramifications of Berkeley's influence which is of interest. Just on the eve of his departure for England,² in a hurried letter to his friend, philosophical disciple, and associate in the "Philosophical Society" at Newport,—the Rev. Samuel Johnson, of Stratford, Connecticut, a graduate of Yale College in the class of 1714, and afterwards president of what is now Columbia College,—he wrote: "I have left a box of books with Mr. Kay, to be given away by you—the small English books

¹ R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll., v. 7, pp. 245-7. Dr. Parsons's valuable study of "Early votaries of natural science in Rhode Island,"—the extended scope of which has rendered unnecessary so detailed an examination of that branch of the subject in the present paper as would otherwise have been the case,—traces this influential "blint" in regard to electricity, to William Claggett, of Newport. Compare Ross's "Discourse" at Newport, 1838, pp. 35, 36; Lyon's "Colonial furniture," pp. 251-2.

² This exact date, only roughly conjectured hitherto, even in the biography by Dr. Fraser, is found to have been September 21, 1731, through an entry under that date in an unpublished diary of Benjamin Walker. This manuscript is in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and the writer is indebted to Mr. Hamilton A. Hill for a knowledge of it.

where they may be most serviceable among the people, the others as we agreed together."¹

This brief line from a hurried letter is here quoted because it is so thoroughly characteristic of Berkeley's methods. That the definite step taken in 1747 in the incorporation of the members of Berkeley's "Society" as "the Company" of the "Redwood Library" can be with any directness traced to Berkeley, is not probable. This action,² as we have seen, was in accord with the local tendencies in the colony; indeed, there had been a parish library connected with Trinity Church parish,—but open to all the inhabitants of the town,—from a date so early as 1709,³ and very probably earlier. But as to his uninterrupted desire to promote all tendencies towards enlightenment and civilization in the infant colonies, there is no room for doubt. Indeed, both the indirect results of his influence (as in the founding of King's College, now Columbia College)⁴ as well as the acts of deliberate purpose affecting institutions of education outside the borders of Rhode Island, strikingly confirm this view. To the representative college of the Massachusetts Bay colony, Harvard College, he sent, in 1733, a valuable collection of the Greek and Roman classics, "most of them the best editions," says President Quincy;⁵—unfortunately destroyed by fire in 1764. To Yale College he sent in the same year (1733) nearly one thousand volumes,⁶ besides deeding to that college his estate at Whitehall.⁷ That he thought seriously

¹ Berkeley's "Works," v. 4, p. 188.

² The late William Hunter attributes the suggestion to Abraham Redwood himself. *Newport Historical Magazine*, v. 2, p. 88.

³ Mason's "Redwood Library," p. 10; Mason's "Trinity Church," pp. 18, 19.

⁴ Chandler's "Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson"; also, Professor Moses Colt Tyler's chapter in Bishop Perry's "History of the American Episcopal Church," v. 1, p. 539.

⁵ Quincy's "History of Harvard University," v. 2, p. 481.

⁶ Berkeley's "Works," v. 4, pp. 194-5. Porter's "Berkeley," p. 47.

⁷ Porter's "Berkeley," pp. 81-84; See Berkeley's "Works," v. 4, pp. 192-5, where the full text of the deed is printed.

of substituting Rhode Island in place of Bermuda, as the site of the university which it had been his main hope to establish in this western world, appears from a conversation reported by Col. Daniel Updike,¹ thus anticipating by a third of a century the actual establishment of a college in Rhode Island, and unquestionably having an important bearing on the steps leading to it. Obviously this last benignant act of the departing scholar, expressed in his letter to Johnson, was but one of several similar distributions of collections of books, which he plainly regarded as effective civilizing agencies. Mention has incidentally been made of the observation of the transit of Venus in 1769, by Benjamin West,—later in life a professor of astronomy in Rhode Island College,²—at that time a bookseller in Providence, the earlier in order of birth of the two Benjamin Wests³ who attained eminence in the last century. The whole bent in the direction of science given to the developing mind of this American boy (born in 1730,⁴ during Berkeley's residence at Newport, and brought up at Bristol, Rhode Island, where a collaborator of Berkeley's was in charge of a parish of the Church of England⁵), is directly attributed by West's biographer to his access to one of these small collections of imperishable literature, “formed,” he says, when Berkeley “distributed his books among the clergy.”⁶ “From these works,” he adds, “West commenced his acquaintance with the philosophy of Newton,” and later, “bent his whole mind” to astronomy. As is well known, the two transits of Venus in the last century

¹ W. Updike's “Memoirs of the Rhode-Island bar,” p. 62.

² Triennial catalogue of Brown University, 1886, p. xlii.

³ Benjamin West, the artist, a native of Pennsylvania, was born in 1738.

⁴ In what was then Rehoboth, Mass., adjacent to the Rhode Island line.

⁵ The Rev. John Usher. See reports and abstracts of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1718-89, in Updike's “Episcopal Church in Narragansett,” pp. 454-5.

⁶ R. I. Literary Repository, v. 1, Oct., 1814, p. 142. (The paging “142” is a misprint for 342.)

occurred in 1761 and 1769, respectively.¹ The John Winthrop² of that generation, Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Harvard College, from 1738 to 1779, had, in 1761, observed the transit of that year from the island of Newfoundland.³ In 1769, not only in Cambridge but in Providence, the recurrence of the phenomena was awaited with great interest. The three men who there made most diligent preparation for it were West, the correspondent and collaborator of Winthrop; Stephen Hopkins, whose mathematical training had been extensive,⁴ and who was already a member⁵ of the American Philosophical Society, of Philadelphia; and Joseph Brown, later in life a professor in Rhode Island College,⁶—already in existence, and in the next year (1770)⁷ to be removed to its new location at Providence,—one of the distinguished family who had helped to give Providence its commercial preëminence, and later gave the college its endowment. He was a man whose acquirement of what was in his time regarded as very much more than “a competence,” enabled him most fortunately to gratify a very marked taste for physical science. The instruments to be used in the observation of the transit were made in London by Mr. Brown’s order and at his expense.⁸ The publication in which the account of the operations is narrated, already cited above,

¹ See Proctor’s “Transits of Venus,” pp. 27-92.

² Professor Winthrop was brother-in-law to the Rev. Samuel Fayerweather, rector of St. Paul’s Church, at Narragansett, 1760-74. Updike’s “Episcopal Church at Narragansett,” p. 359; *Popular Science Monthly*, v. 30, p. 481.

³ Described in his pamphlet, “Relation of a voyage from Boston to Newfoundland for the observation of the Transit of Venus, June 6, 1761.” Boston, 1761. See the biographical sketch, with portrait, in *Popular Science Monthly*, v. 39, pp. 721, 837-42.

⁴ Foster’s “Stephen Hopkins,” pt. 1, p. 126; pt. 2, pp. 107-9. Compare also, West’s “Dedication” of his pamphlet, “An account of the observation of Venus,” etc.

⁵ “Transactions of the American Philosophical Society,” v. 1, p. xvii.; elected April 1, 1768.

⁶ “Triennial catalogue” of Brown University, 1880, p. xiii.

⁷ Guild’s “History of Brown University,” p. 43.

⁸ West’s “Account,” p. 11.

was written by Benjamin West. It is a well-printed pamphlet¹ of twenty-two pages, and is provided with a diagram showing the positions of the heavenly bodies. A memoir of the observations² was sent³ by West to the Royal Society of London, to which society, says Mr. Proctor,⁴ "probably as many as four hundred" such memoirs, from different parts of the world, were forwarded.⁵ At Newport, Rhode Island, there were also interested and accomplished observers, on this occasion, the operations⁶ being conducted by Dr. Ezra Stiles, a native of Connecticut,⁷ a graduate from Yale College in 1746, and afterwards, from 1778 to 1795, president of that college, who had since 1755 been settled over a church⁸ in Newport. It is of interest to note that the expense of constructing the instruments there used was borne in part by Abraham Redwood,⁹ the enlightened patron of science as well as literature, and that they were constructed in part by Joseph Harrison, brother¹⁰ of Peter Harrison, the architect, whose connection with the Philosophical Society dated very nearly from Berkeley's time.¹¹ I have thus far failed to find a record of observations of this transit in more than

¹ "Printed by John Carter, at Shakespeare's Head," in Providence.

² An abstract also appears in the "Transactions of the American Philosophical Society," v. 1, p. 97.

³ *Rhode Island Literary Repository*, v. 1, p. 345.

⁴ Proctor's "Transits of Venus," p. 85.

⁵ The other gentlemen participating with West, Hopkins and Brown, in the Providence observation, were Moses Brown, Jabez Bowen and Capt. John Burroughs.

⁶ West's "Account," p. 12.

⁷ See Professor J. L. Kingsley's "Life of Dr. Ezra Stiles," pp. 17, 18, where other scientific researches of Dr. Stiles are recorded.

⁸ Although a resident of Newport for nearly twenty-five years, Dr. Stiles can hardly be said to have been greatly modified by the atmosphere of the place, unfavorable to dogmatism as it was. No hesitation to judge in the premises is apparent in the following entry in one of his interleaved almanacs: "Gen. Ethan Allen of Vermont died and went to Hell this day." (Feb. 13, 1789.) (R. I. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, 1891-2, p. 82.)

⁹ West's "Account," p. 12.

¹⁰ Mason's "Redwood Library," p. 41.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 34-5.

four New England localities: Cambridge, Newbury, Providence and Newport,—and Professor Newcomb's very careful study¹ of the transit names no others,—and it is not a little singular that two out of this total of four should be in Rhode Island. West's observation of this transit was only a part of a long career given up to astronomical observations.² In November of the same year (1769), occurred a transit of Mercury, which he also observed,³ undoubtedly with the same instruments.⁴ In July, 1770, also, the appearance of the comet of that year gave him an opportunity of determining its perihelion, from three observations; and in the same year, he observed the satellites of Jupiter. In 1781, he observed the eclipse of the sun⁵ at Providence. Among his other achievements, it may be mentioned, is a table of Jupiter's satellites, from 1760 to 1810, inclusive. "In short," says the writer of the biographical sketch of him, published in 1814, "his whole life seems to have been almost a continued course of mathematical and astronomical labours."⁶ In his "Miscellaneous tracts," a repository of his calculations, he adds, "we find the sun and moon's places, and many eclipses calculated in the years 1778, 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783, 1787, 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, together with a great variety of astronomical tables." He received in 1770 the degree of Master of Arts from Harvard College,⁷ apparently on Professor Winthrop's suggestion, as may be inferred from Winthrop's letter to West, of July 19, 1770,⁸ and in 1792, the degree of Doctor of Laws from Rhode

¹ See Professor Simon Newcomb's "Discussions of the transits of Venus in 1761 and 1769," pp. 320, 338, 345, 355, 365, 382 and 397 (1891). Also, Eucke's "Der Venusdurchgang von 1769."

² Partially enumerated in Rhode Island Literary Repository, v. 1, pp. 144 (344), 152 (352).

³ Rhode Island Literary Repository, v. 1, p. 145 (345).

⁴ Now preserved in Wilson Hall at Brown University.

⁵ Reported in the "Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences," v. 1, pp. 156-8.

⁶ R. I. Lit. Repository, v. 1, p. 152 (352).

⁷ Harvard Quinquennial Catalogue, 1890, pp. 314-15.

⁸ R. I. Lit. Repository, v. 1, p. 146 (346).

Island College.¹ With the exception of one year, 1787-8, spent at Philadelphia, in intimacy with Franklin,² he passed his entire mature life in Providence. In 1786, he became a member of the faculty of Rhode Island College, which position he held until 1798,³ and in 1787, he was elected to a position in the faculty of Columbia College, which he declined.⁴ He was a member of the American Philosophical Society, and also of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, in whose rooms we are now assembled, being elected in 1781.⁵ The first volume of its "Memoirs" contains papers⁶ by him and by Joseph Brown already mentioned above.

What as to the enduring nature, on Rhode Island soil, of those tendencies towards idealism, in thought and life, which we have already noticed as characterizing the early centuries? To quote from a recent address by a distinguished member of this Society,—Dr. Hale,—this tendency has not, "for any one generation, been without a living witness of the first power and authority within her borders,"⁷—a statement which it is easy to accept in view of notable instances such as Samuel Hopkins, whose remarkable philosophical postulates have recently been so admirably treated by Professor A. V. G. Allen, of Cambridge⁸; William Ellery Channing, descendant of the William Ellery of Berkeley's "Society," the delicacy of whose

¹ Brown University Triennial catalogue, 1886, p. 79.

² R. I. Lit. Repository, v. 1, pp. 154-5 (354-5).

³ Brown University Triennial Catalogue, 1886, p. xiii.

⁴ R. I. Literary Repository, v. 1, p. 355.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 358. "Memoirs of the Am. Acad.," v. 1, p. xxii.

⁶ Vol. 1, pp. 149-50, 156-8, 165-72.

⁷ "Hazard Memorial" address, 1891, p. 22.

⁸ *Atlantic Monthly*, Dec., 1891, v. 68, p. 767-80. It is significant that Dr. Allen recognizes this tendency in the atmosphere of Newport, when he says of Hopkins (p. 780), that "the town made an impression on him." Dr. Fruser's suggestion that Hopkins's teacher and master, Jonathan Edwards, may have come under the influence of Berkeley through being "one of Johnson's pupils at Yale College" (Berkeley's "Works," v. 4, p. 182), encounters the difficulty of the division of what was Yale College, in 1716-20, between Wethersfield and New Haven. (Dexter's "Annals" of Yale College, pp. 123, 218.)

thought gives everywhere almost unmistakable evidences of his hereditary antecedents; Job Durfee, in the view of Dr. Porter¹ of Yale College, a representative of the Berkeleyan doctrine in the present century; and Rowland G. Hazard, a writer who, dying in Rhode Island so recently as 1888, has left a distinct mark on the psychological thought of our time, and a writer of whom his powerful opponent in discussion, John Stuart Mill, wrote: "It is a real pleasure to have you for an antagonist."²

If so noteworthy a stage of advancement was reached in Rhode Island,³ and so noteworthy impulses communicated from her to other colonies, it is certainly a fair question to ask, how it happens that since 1780, she has not merely not held her own, but has been distinctly distanced by many of her sister States.

It will have been noticed that we have thus far said nothing of systems of common-school education. The omission is not the result of oversight, but the consideration of the failure of Rhode Island to act⁴ in this fundamentally important matter has been postponed to this stage of the discussion, because herein lies the explanation of the fact that, notwithstanding the obvious advantages in Rhode Island's favor, on which we have been dwelling, she has, since 1780, failed to hold such preëminence as might reasonably have been expected. So early as 1647, the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay colony enacted as follows:—

"y^t learning may not be buried in y^e grave of o^r fath^r"

¹ Porter's "Berkeley," p. 38.

² Letter of Nov. 16, 1866. ("Biographical preface" to Hazard's "Essay on language"; ed. 1889, p. xi.)

³ The scope of this paper does not admit of following out the very noteworthy impulses transmitted through Benjamin Franklin's agency, and through his intimate association with Hopkins, Ward, Greene, West, Claggett, Carter and others. Franklin was a man whose influence was very impartially distributed through the different colonies, and in this, Rhode Island had an influential share.

⁴ Failure to act, as a colony, is meant. Sporadic attempts in individual towns are met with at an early date, as at Newport in 1640. (Arnold's "Rhode Island," v. 1, p. 145.) A "Latin school" was opened at Newport in 1716. (Mason's "Trinity Church," p. 37.)

in y^e church & comonwealth, the Lord assisting or endeavours,
— It is therefore ord'ed y^e ev'y township in this iurisdiction,
aft' y^e Lord hath increased y^m to y^e number of 50 householdⁿ,
shall then forthw^m appoint one wthin their towne to teach all
such children as shall resort to him to write & read." ¹

The other Puritan colonies followed this example, and by the year 1649, to quote from what the present writer has said elsewhere, "every other New England colony had made education compulsory,"² but in Rhode Island, "the exaggerated form in which the doctrine of separation had come to be held gave the public a succession of religious ministers" who were in too many instances without special training, "and successive generations of children with no opportunities for education."³

In Massachusetts, the steps taken so early as 1647 in due time had telling effect. The magnificent period from 1830 to 1890, the golden age of Massachusetts,—the period in which the best work of Emerson, of Holmes, of Longfellow, of Whittier, and of Lowell was performed,—is the splendid fruitage of that early act of enlightened foresight. Rhode Island is a smaller State, it is true, but even setting aside the obvious disadvantage under which the more intelligent elements of its population labored, in 1786–90, in questions depending on the popular vote, one finds there, since the year 1780, nothing even remotely approaching this state of things; nor did we need Mr. Lodge's summaries as to the distribution of ability in the United States,⁴ to show

¹ Mass. Colonial Records, v. 2, p. 203. Cf. the claims made in Mr. A. S. Draper's article, *Educational Review*, April, 1892, v. 3, pp. 313–36.

² Foster's "Stephen Hopkins," pt. 1, p. 41. It is obvious that the notable advantages of private tutors and private libraries could not, in the nature of the case, be depended on as hereditary in every instance. As the population of Rhode Island increased there was an ever-widening gulf between the educated few and the uneducated mass. There was never, perhaps, a more impressive exemplification of Matthew Arnold's suggestive declaration as to the true "secret of rich and beautiful epochs in national life" ("Essays in criticism," 1st series, p. 494).

³ Foster's "Stephen Hopkins," pt. 1, p. 41.

⁴ The *Century*, Sept., 1891, v. 42, p. 687–94.

us how disappointing, comparatively, have been the Nineteenth Century's achievements in Rhode Island. It is for us to remember, however, that the record is not yet closed ; and that if this republic endures, much is yet to be seen ; that Rhode Island has already in the last sixty years done much to put itself on a level with its neighboring States, as regards educational advantages ; that evidences are abundant, as just cited, to prove that the idealistic tendency is still strong there, and that only the future can reveal what the working of that tendency, under new conditions and more favorable surroundings may develop.

THOMAS CORAM IN BOSTON AND TAUNTON.

BY HAMILTON ANDREWS HILL.

IT is interesting to those of us who have visited the Foundling Hospital in London, or who are familiar with the history of that great charity, to remember that Thomas Coram, its founder, spent ten years of his long and eventful life in the Province of Massachusetts Bay. Born at Lyme Regis, Dorsetshire, in 1668, the son of a sea-captain engaged in the fisheries, he became both a sailor and a shipbuilder. He landed in Boston sometime in 1693, and it must have been within a few months of the arrival from England of Sir William Phips, the first governor under the new charter, the earlier part of whose career had been very much like his own. It is almost certain that Sir William knew beforehand of his proposed coming to New England, and approved cordially of the object which was to bring him here. This object is explained in a memorial addressed many years afterward, in 1747, to the Archbishop of Canterbury: "Your memorialist hath in the prime and best part of his life had long experience in North America, where he resided ten successive years, to promote and carry on and conduct shipbuilding on account of some considerable merchants of London, and he carried for that purpose from hither divers shipwrights and other proper and necessary hands and also a great quantity of merchandise." His errand had the encouragement if not the direct support of the Government, for, in another memorial, August 26, 1703, addressed to Governor Joseph Dudley, he said: "Its something more than nine years past I came into this country and brought with me divers shipwrights and other handy crafts sent hither at the

charge of a very [] merchant Mr. Thomas Hunt of London whose good will for this country is well known to some of the chiefe persons here, he sent me hither for the carrying on a design of shipbuilding, and was permitted and protected by the Government at home in my coming hither for the better Improvement of ship building in these parts, and I had favour answerable there unto by the government here during the whole time of my building ships in Boston."

Of Coram's life in Boston, we know very little; but in 1697, or 1698, he moved to Taunton, and in 1699 he bought of John Reed a tract of land in the South Purchase, the detailed boundaries of which indicate the location to have been at what is now known as Bragg's shipyard at South Dighton. His yard, as described by himself, was situated "in the most commodious place on the river, with so good a depth of water, that if need were a fourth-rate frigate might be launched there." There was a house, with other buildings, and an orchard with an hundred and fifty apple-trees, and he valued the property at one hundred pounds.

There is nothing to show that Coram's life in Boston was not a pleasant one; but at Taunton it was far otherwise. He was a man of determined will, of positive opinions, of a rather choleric disposition, and, "free from all hypocrisy, he spoke what he thought with vehemence." Such an one would be better understood, and his peculiarities would stand out with less prominence, in the large town, where were men of all sorts, and merchants trading with all parts of the world, than in the remote country village, where no very wide deviation from the local standards would be allowed to pass without expressions of disapproving criticism. Then, too, Coram was a zealous member of the Church of England. In Boston, he found sympathy in this regard at King's Chapel, where he was a regular worshipper; but at Taunton, the people were all Congregationalists,

“dissenters” he would call them, although he does not seem to have been bigoted in his religious views, and they were not very tolerant, probably, to his preferences for the liturgy and the Christian year. He looked forward to the time, to use his own words, when the inhabitants there “should be more civilized than they now are,” and should incline to set up the worship of the English Establishment. It is easy to see that if any serious dispute should rise between him and any of these country-folk, the general feeling, among all classes, would be decidedly against him, and he would be likely to have an uncomfortable time of it; and that this proved to be so, we have abundant evidence in the Massachusetts archives, the Bristol County Court records, and his correspondence many years later. We think it will appear, also, that making every allowance, for such reasons as we have suggested, for his personal unpopularity, he was very badly treated by many of the Bristol County people, and that it was almost impossible for him to obtain justice in the local courts. The wrongs which he then and there suffered, rankled in his memory to the end of his days.

In the memorial to Governor Dudley, in 1703, from which we have already quoted, Coram said: “For four or five years last past I have built at Taunton in the County of Bristol, where by the barbarous treatment I have had from some of the people, I have reason to believe they are some of the very worst of the creation, and to compleat and cloak their black action, have in their serpentine manner endeavoured to stigmatize my Reputation with the best of the countrey, and some of the Countrey Justices there abouts have been so partall in their administrations towards me that they have violated their own oathes and given illegall Judgments against me.”

The first suit of which we find a record, in the course of litigation in which Coram became involved, was an action of slander, October 8, 1700, Peter Walker, plaintiff, versus

Thomas Coram. "Coram had said Walker took a false oath, was guilty of perjury, and he could prove it." This case was non-suited and the defendant's bill of costs was paid by the plaintiff.¹ The proceedings that followed are narrated in a petition to the General Court a few months later, from which we shall now quote.

At the Inferior Court of Common Pleas held at Bristol on the second Tuesday of January, 1700-1, Coram commenced an action of covenant against Peter Walker, of Taunton, husbandman,—as he explains in his petition,— "for not timely drawing all the timber and wooden materials, whether streight compass or knee Timber &c, to be used about a certain ship building in your Petitioners yard at said Taunton &c for the compleat building, launching and finishing thereof, according to Articles under the said Walker's hand and seal, bearing date the 18th of April, 1699. In barr of which Action the said Defendant pleaded a reference, submission and an award, and the Jury brought in a verdict for the Defendant to recover costs, and Judgement was entred up accordingly." At the same Inferior Court, the petitioner, as he goes on to say, "brought another Action, of the Case against Eleazer Walker of Taunton aforesaid Yeoman, for that the said Walker had molested your Petitioner from cutting and carrying away into your Petitioner's yard, Timber for the building a certain Ship then upon the Stocks, which said Timber your Petitioner agreed for with said Walker in consideration of Forty eight shillings; In barr of which Action the said Defendant made the like Plea as above, and obtained a like Verdict and Judgement accordingly."

Further, the petitioner relates that, at the same Court,

¹ We are indebted to the Rev. S. H. Emery, D.D., of Taunton, for extracts from the Bristol County Court records, and for a copy of Coram's memorial to Governor Dudley; also, to a very interesting paper, containing much information about Coram, by Mr. Charles A. Reed, in the Collections of the Old Colony Historical Society, No. II.

Peter Walker brought an action of debt against Coram "to recover five hundred pounds upon an arbitration bond, for not performing the award of Eliakim Hutchinson and Nathaniel Byfield Esquires and Capt. Andrew Belcher," and set forth the breach, etc., to which action Coram pleaded "there was no award delivered according to the submission, and further that the said award did not contain what was submitted and therefore no award." "In which case the said Peter Walker obtained a Verdict for five hundred pounds (forfeiture of the said Bond), and had Judgement entred up for him accordingly." Eleazer Walker brought the like action of debt, and recovered the like judgment and verdict.

In all these actions, Coram appealed to the next Superior Court, and paid the Clerk for entering the appeals; he also brought certain persons to be his sureties, but the Court objecting to them, he went out immediately to find others. He appeared again with his men, "but the Court was just then adjourned without day, and the Judges were sat down at dinner who refused to take bond" for his prosecuting the appeals, "saying they were then no Court and therefore could not do it." On the day following that on which the jury gave in their verdicts in the several causes specified, executions issued against Coram, and were immediately levied on two vessels in his yard, valued by him at nearly a thousand pounds each. The sums awarded under the arbitration mentioned above were only £33.8.0 to Peter Walker, and £8.2.0, and two and three quarters yards of cloth, to Eleazer Walker. Coram insisted in his petition, that the Court ought to have "chancered" to the just debt and damage in each case, instead of allowing judgment to go against him for the sums on the face of the two bonds, and also that, as it had allowed his appeals before adjournment, it should have taken his bonds for prosecuting them.¹

¹ See *Mass. Archives*, Vol. XL., pp. 645-57.

In a complaint presented to the General Court, in addition to the petition in which these facts had been recited, Coram says: "The executions in that petition mentioned was served by a person not att all qualified for such an office (as is wel knowne to som of this Honourable Court) hee beged the ofice of the Sherrif as the Sherrif Declard and promised to serve the Executions for very small part of the fees and did serve them without being first sworne." "This estate the said Deputy Sherrif has had appraised by two or three select prejudiced persons (as himself is). The Chiefe of those appraisers is a very Ill person who feloniously broake my Chest att my Lodging in Taunton and stole thence a wrighting obligatory on himself of considerable vallue and burnt it." Of the seizure of his property, Coram tells the Governor: They "got the ships and all the plunder appraised by some base prejudiced countrey fellows of their own party no way skilled in such things, but they valued the whole short of what would satisfy for the two five hundred pound so as they might want some for an opportunity to carry my person to Goal, by which horrid treatment the busines of my ships was wholy hindered for three months or very near it."

Of the two ships on the stocks, one, not quite finished, with all the timber and plank in the yard to be used for finishing her (234 tons), was appraised at £432, but was really worth £1,000, as she lay. Another ship "neare 130 Tons," which was "finished on the Stocks and Riggd" and had "all her Sails and Cables on bord her and her anchours att the Bows," was appraised at £650, but was worth more than £1,000.¹ The shipyard, with all its

¹ Longfellow, in "The Building of the Ship," describes his vessel as rigged and ready for sea, while yet upon the stocks, and he says in a note: "I wish to anticipate a criticism on this passage, by stating that sometimes, though not usually, vessels are launched fully sparr'd and rigged. I have availed myself of the exception as better suited to my purposes than the general rule; but the reader will see that it is neither a blunder nor a poetic license." To the examples which he gives, we may now add another from Thomas Coram's shipyard. It was, probably, quite common to rig the smaller craft before launching.

buildings and equipment, and with the orchard adjoining, was valued by these appraisers at £12, about one-eighth of its real value. For two debts amounting to only forty or fifty pounds, property was seized which was worth more than two thousand pounds. Evidently, there was a conspiracy in Taunton to break Coram down, to take everything from him, and to drive him from the place. Fortunately there was a higher power to which he could appeal, and which was prompt to put him in possession of all his rights under the law. The General Court, impressed by the statements contained in his petition, cited the Bristol County Justices to appear and make answer to it at an early day. The original of this citation has recently come into our possession, and is as follows:—

Province of the To John Brown, Thomas Leonard &
Massachusetts Bay. Nicholas Peck Esq^r Justices of the
Inferior Court of Common pleas in
the County of Bristol, Greeting.

Whereas Thomas Coram of Boston, sometimes residing at Taunton in the Province aforesaid Shipwright by his Petition exhibited unto the Great and General Court or Assembly now sitting, hath complained that he is greatly injured and oppressed by certain Judgements by you given against him at the Inferior Court by you holden at Bristol on the Second Tuesday of January last past, in several Actions there tryed between him said Coram and Peter Walker of Taunton husbandman, and also between him and Eleazer Walker of said Taunton Yeoman, In that you did not chancer certain Bonds put in suit against him by the said Walker's to the just debt and damages, and also In that you refused to take his Bonds for prosecuting appeals from the said judgements, which you had allowed unto him upon his claim thereof during the time of the said Courts sitting, &c. And hath prayed to be relieved agaist the said Judgements and the Executions thereupon issued, by some Special Act of the said Great and General Court or Assembly.

And whereas the said Great and General Court or Assembly being willing you should have an opportunity of

being heard before them (if you see cause) relating to your proceedings in the Causes aforesaid, before they proceed to make any act for the relief of the said Coram as he hath prayed, have ordered that you be notified of his said Petition and heard upon the matters therein set forth, on the fifth day of March next, if you see cause then to appear for that purpose.

These are therefore accordingly to notify you, of the aforesaid Petition, and also to appear (if you see cause) before the said Great and General Court or Assembly, now sitting at Boston, upon Wednesday the fifth of March aforesaid to be heard upon the matters set forth in the said Coram's Petition before mentioned.

Dated at Boston, the Twenty Sixth day of February 1700. In the thirteenth year of His Majesty's Reign.

By order of the Lieut Governour

Council and Assembly

Is^a Addington Secry

Boston, March 5 1700

In General Court

Stephen Phillips of full age made Oath, That this within written notification being committed to him he Executed the same, by reading thereof unto the within named Justices Mr. Browne and Mr. Peck being both together at said Mr. Browne's house in Swansey, upon Monday the 3d instant, in the forenoon of the same day, and Mr. Justice Browne afterwards tooke it into his own hands to read.

Stephen Phillips

Att. Is^a Addington Secry

Mr. Justice Leonard appeared.

On the 5th of March, "the whole Court being together in the Council Chamber," Mr. Justice Leonard only appeared, with the petitioner; the papers were read, and both parties were heard. "Mr. Speaker and the Representatives returned to their Chamber." A resolve was passed, that the petitioner should be enabled by a special act, to have his appeal, in the cases referred to, to the next Superior Court, he to give security to prosecute with effect as the law directs, the several judgments and all the pro-

ceedings under them to be vacated, and all the goods and estate levied thereby or any of them to be restored to the petitioner. The special act was approved by the Lieut.-Governor, William Stoughton, March 12, 1700-1.¹

The Superior Court reversed the decisions of the lower tribunal²; the property which had been seized was already released, with the exception of certain stores of some value, for which Coram recovered two judgments against the deputy sheriff, and levying upon his land, took fifty-nine acres of his farm. Coram's troubles, however, were not yet over, nor did he ever derive any personal benefit from these acres, which, as we shall see, had a history of their own. Just before returning to England, in the autumn of 1703, he addressed the memorial to Governor Dudley³ from which we have twice quoted, asking that he might be put in peaceable possession of his own. The Superior Court confirmed the judgments against the deputy sheriff, after which, says the memorial, this officer "carried his gun with him and threatened to kill the sheriff or any that should attempt to attach him, so the sheriff of the County delivered me some of the deputed sheriff's land to satisfy the two Judgments which I had obtained against him, and when the high sheriff and I came from said land into the highway were fired upon out of some thick bushes near the roadside, we could not see the man that shot but the bullets whistled very near by us and I am merrally assured it was

¹ Province Laws, Vol. I., p. 454.

² Judge Sewall refers very briefly in his diary to the session of the Superior Court held at Bristol in September, 1701; the Hons. John Walley, Elisha Cooke and John Saffin were on the bench with him; he makes no mention of Coram, but the reference to Peter Walker may relate to one or more of the cases between the two, then pending:—

"Sept. 8. rid to Rehoboth with Mr. Cooke, Major Walley; Mr. Saffin went last week.

"Sept. 9 to Bristow. Mr. Saffin and others met us near the Ferry. Peter Walker charg'd Mr. Saffin with urging a man to swear that which he scrupled to swear."

³ Joseph Dudley arrived in Boston with his commission from Queen Anne as governor of the province, June 11, 1702.

this deputed sheriff whose name is Abel Burt, and some time afterward on the 26th of May 1702 this Burt threatened me if I ever should come upon the land which the sheriff had delivered me, and the said Burt then laid violent hands on me and believe would have murdered me had not others Rescued me. I knowing him to be a dangerous fellow I went emediately complained to Captain Leonard the Justice at Taunton of the same and carryed two persons with me that saw the Assault to make affidavit of it." But the Justice would not grant him security for the peace against Burt, and would not receive the affidavits which were offered; so that Coram could not have his land laid out and divided from the rest of Burt's land, nor could he "get any to adventure themselves to mow the grass on said land," nor was it safe for him to be seen "in that town." He therefore asks the Governor that some skilful person may "with security" lay out the land for him, that he may obtain possession of it, and then go without fear to Taunton and enjoy his right. In closing, he says that he wants to be able to speak well of the country after his nine years of experience and observation "relating to what it might produce fit for the use of her majesties Navy Royal, or other matter that" he "might be required at any time to give an account of." Notwithstanding all that he had suffered, he had not lost and never, to the end of his life, did lose his interest in the province, and particularly, his concern in behalf of its shipbuilding possibilities and its ocean commerce.¹

¹ The year after his return to England, he and others secured the passage of an Act of Parliament to encourage by a bounty, the manufacture of tar in the American colonies, and we are told that he had successfully originated the industry here in 1688. In later years, he interested himself in the lighting of Boston Harbor, and in the establishment of a portage system on this coast.

At one time he was busy with a scheme for settling Nova Scotia, where, he thought, hemp and other naval stores might be produced and the lands between Nova Scotia and Maine. In 1723, Ulisse Wapole, writing from The Hague to his brother, Sir Robert Walpole, on colonial affairs, said: "Lost no time in talking with Sir Charles Wager, Mr. Boscawen, and one Coram, the most distinguished, and the most knowing person about the plantations I ever talked with."

In a letter to Dr. Colman, minister of Brattle-street Church, written nearly forty years after these events, Captain Coram blames Nathaniel Byfield, one of the most influential men in the province, for all the bitter persecution to which he had been subjected. Mr. Byfield was in England in 1715, and endeavored to obtain the governorship, when Governor Dudley was superseded, or some other high office in the province, but failed utterly.¹ On his return to Boston, he inveighed bitterly against Jeremiah Dummer, the agent of Massachusetts in London, and said that he had betrayed him. Captain Coram's letter (September 22, 1738), gives us the secret history of his failure: "Coll. Byfield went from here about that time from hence where I had stuck in his skirts to prevent his obtaining to be Governor or so much as judge of the Admiralty again in New England for the Intolerable Oppressions that Proud base Monster had Maliciously brought on me in that Country for three or four years together and for no more cause than you have given to me, his only pretence for it was that I had, as he said, been hard upon his tenant's son named Dan Throope who had covenanted with me to build a vessel with my Timber and Plank in my Building yard at Zebulon then in Taunton now in the New Township called Dighton on the further side of Taunton, and had received his first Payment thereon, and found means by the help of the mistress of the house where I lodged, in the year 1699 near my said Building yard, to break open my Chest and

¹ "Nathaniel Byfield, who was a person of some importance at this period, was son of a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, and nephew of Bishop Juxon. He came from England in 1674, and settled at Bristol. In 1693, he was Speaker of the House, and Judge of Probate for his county. In 1703, he was appointed Judge of Admiralty and held the office through the whole of Dudley's administration. Dudley, when he came over as Governor, found him in office as a Counsellor, but they soon fell out, and the breach was never reconciled. In England, Byfield quarrelled with Dummer, who took Dudley's part, though between himself and the Governor there was still no good will." — Palfrey's History of New England, Vol. IV., p. 310, note. Byfield had lost his judgeship in the Admiralty Court, when he went to England in 1715. He was recommissioned in 1728-9, and held the office until his death in 1733.

take out the said Covenant and burn it. I could not obtain a warrant of the Justice in Taunton to take the Rouge up, but afterwards took him in Boston where he got his Fathers Landlord Byfield to be bound for his performance of the Work, before which tho I had been five or six years in New England had never been in Byfield his Company or spoken with him, yet he used me with very scurrilous language and said his being bound to me should be my Ruin, and he endeavord it accordingly not only in Bristol County where he had a Party would do any vile thing he desired or were told would please him, even the Inferior Judges of the Court as well as most of the Jurymen (not all) and other idle Fellows did all the Devil could put in their heads to please him and Ruin Mee. I say this Monster Byfield finding here anno 1716 [1715] he had Injured a man who remembered it, and that he was never like to obtain anything here of those I was known to, he returned, I cannot say whether ashamed or not."

It is to be observed that Coram's statements find general confirmation in all the official records which have come to our knowledge, and that, in every instance, he was sustained by the higher courts to which he appealed. A less plucky and determined man than he would have been driven to the wall in these controversies; but he boldly withstood his enemies to the end, and, when he sailed out of Boston Harbor, probably in command of one of the ships he had been building here, he had been vindicated in his character, and confirmed in the possession of all his rights. Mr. Dummer wrote truly, in a letter from London in 1720: Mr. Coram "is a man of that obstinate, persevering temper as never to desist from his first enterprise, whatever obstacles lie in his way."

At the end of the year 1703, Coram conveyed the land which, at such hazard to himself and others, he had gained from Abel Burt, to the vestrymen of King's Chapel, for the benefit of the Church of England in the province, with

the provision that they might grant any part or parcel of it for an Episcopal Church in Taunton, if forty ratable men there should make application for it. He had employed the Attorney-General in Boston, Mr. Newton, to draw the deed "amply strong and in due form," so that "none of the crafty New Englanders might ever find a flaw in it, I knowing too well," he said, "what sort of folks the major part of the inhabitants of Taunton then were." This gift lay neglected and unimproved for many years, to the great vexation of the giver, who attributed this treatment of it to the circumstance that he had lodged the deed in the hand of the Rev. Mr. Bridge, the assistant at the Chapel, for which reason, he thought, Mr. Miles, the senior minister, "disrespected the said deed of gift, and prevented the vestry from taking any notice of it."¹ In 1740, Coram proposed that the land should be deeded to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, feeling sure that the inhabitants of Taunton at that time would not adventure "to play their tricks with the corporation, as," he said, "the last generation of vipers there did with me." This suggestion, however, was not carried into effect; and, in 1754, three years after his death, the wardens and vestry of the Chapel conveyed the property to Stephen Burt, of Berkeley, for one hundred pounds, which went into the fund for their new house of worship then approaching completion. Coram had been applied to in London, by a member of the congregation, to contribute toward the erection of this building, but had refused, emphatically, not to say passionately, because his gift had been allowed to lie unimproved for nearly half a century; as was usual with him, he had expressed himself so unqualifiedly that there could be no room for doubt as to his meaning: "he knew it was in his power to serve the church very much, but if the

¹ See *Annals of King's Chapel*, Vol. I., p. 365, for a "miniature" of the two ministers, "etched," says Mr. Foote, "with a mordant pen," by Captain Coram.

Twelve Apostles were to apply to him in behalf of it, he would persist in refusing." In reporting the result of his call, the gentleman who had received this rebuff naively remarked: "I thought this a definitive answer, and so took my leave."

For many years Captain Coram kept up a very full and friendly correspondence with Dr. Colman, of Boston.¹ We have given an extract from one of his letters to this excellent man; although not directly related to our subject, we venture to present one or two more. Under date of August 24, 1739, he wrote: "On the 14th Instant The King signed the Charter or the Bill so calld before the Great seal is affixed, it is to my satisfaction in every particular since with much Difficulty I got several amendments to it which the Attorney General opposd I suppose he thought it a blemish to his honour to desire any amendments whereupon I petitioned the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for those amendments we made which their Lordships order to be done accordingly. I have now sent my Mother [in law] a Written Copy and have desird her to send it for you to see as also an Impression of the Common Seal of the Corporation which I chose out of the affair mentioned in the 2^d of Exodus of Pharoah's Daughter and her Maid's finding Moses in the ark of Bulrushes which I thought would be very appropo for an hospital for Foundlings Moses being the first Foundling we read of."

In connection with the cost of the charter, we have this characteristic remark: "The fees will be more than two hundred guineas to prepare and pass the charter through all the offices and officers notwithstanding it is on so compassionate a case, but I am told and do believe, if it was to prevent the abolishing of Christianity out of the World no lawyer nor office man would abate of his fees."

¹ Many of these letters have been preserved among the Davis Papers, in the collections of the Mass. Hist. Society.

In a postscript to the same letter, he adds: "I think I may say I am sure of having thirty-four acres of land in the fields before Queen's Square in Ormond Street for a seite for our Hospital and everything proper belonging thereto it is about an equal Distance from Aldgate and from White-hall or St James Palace." There were fifty-five acres in this estate, which belonged to the Earl of Salisbury, and as he refused to divide it, the governors of the hospital were obliged to buy the whole, the cost being one hundred pounds an acre. They had previously had an offer to take Montague House on a lease; while that offer could not be accepted, yet it "started the charity very much."

Writing to Dr. Colman, September 13, 1740, Coram tells of the recent death of his wife, "a virtuous, kind and prudent wife, without a fault," whom he had married in Boston forty years before (June 27, 1700). She was Eunice, daughter of John and Eunice Wait, near neighbors of Judge Sewall and mentioned by him several times in his diary.¹ The first male child baptized at the Foundling was named Thomas Coram, the first female, Eunice Coram, "some nobility of the first rank standing godfather and godmother" to them and others.

Captain Coram outlived his wife nearly eleven years. "This singular and memorable man," says an old pamphlet lying before us,² "exchanged this life for a better, and

¹ Sebastian, or Bastian, a negro belonging to the Waits, was in Judge Sewall's service: "Sept. 26, 1700. Mr. John Wait and Eunice his wife, and Mrs. Debora Thair came to speak to me about the marriage of Sebastian, negro servant of said Wait, with Jane, negro servant of said Thair. Mr. Wait desired they might be published in order to marriage. Mrs. Thair insisted that Sebastian might have one day in six allow'd him for the support of Jane, his intended wife and her children, if it should please God to give her any. Mr. Wait now wholly declin'd that, but freely offered to allow Bastian Five pounds, in money per annum toward the support of his children per said Jane (besides Sebastians cloathing and diet). I persuaded Jane and Mrs. Thair to agree to it, and so i was concluded."—*Sewall's Diary*.

² "Essay on the Character of Capt. Thomas Coram," belonging to our associate Mr. Henry H. Edes. There is a copy of this pamphlet of twenty pages in the Society's library, and in the Boston Athenaeum. It was first printed in London in 1751, and was reprinted the same year in Boston.

passed from doing to enjoying good, on Friday, March 29th, 1751, in the fourscore and fourth year of his making it his last request that his corpse might be interred in the chappel of the Foundling Hospital." The manuscript which he took for himself as well as for the hospital, contains the story of his life, *non sibi, sed aliis.*

igni vniuersi q̄ homines nullis vritate vniuersitatis q̄
de cvalcent et i statu debito melius p̄seruare sive
s̄ om̄ ac singulos q̄ eos. vt alieni de ipsis aliquam
primit alii accerere et nette sunt ad succendum.
qua p̄fedoris formā iunctio nullata p̄secubz inovet
i statum ac ordinum. vt i nullibz p̄moris nō
Si u dissensio libera fuit ut alios p̄spicatos p̄decio



SWISS PACT OF 1291.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
BERNE, March 3, 1892.

STEPHEN SALISBURY, Esq.,

President of the American Antiquarian Society.

SIR:—

I transmit to the Library, through the Department of State, five hundred heliotype copies of the *Swiss Pact of 1291*, asking the Society to accept the same, and to give them place in the published "Proceedings" of the next meeting.

In the Report of the Council, read at the April meeting in 1890, I had occasion to refer to this document as one of the most interesting in human history. I then spoke of the motives of its authors, and the circumstances which led to its execution, suggesting at the same time some historical parallels which seemed to me worthy of note. I said (in substance, for the words are not before me), that it is, in my opinion, entitled to rank with our own Declaration of Independence. In view of the character of the times, the situation of its authors, and the circumstances which surrounded them, it is even more remarkable.

Although our Declaration of Independence, in *fac-simile*, is a document familiar to the eye of even the American schoolboy, *the Pact of 1291*, carefully preserved in the archives of Schwytz, has never, in similar form, seen the light. The kind co-operation of the Federal authorities of Switzerland enables me to place these copies in your hands. On the occasion of the celebration of the six hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the Republic, in

August, 1891, a *memoir historique* was written by Dr. Carl Hilty, at the request of the Government, and the Pact for the first time was heliotyped. Copies of this accompanied Dr. Hilty's work, and I was permitted, in connection with the Federal order to secure these.

It had occurred to me to add some suggestions on this subject to those contained in the Report of the Council above referred to, but I concluded to reserve them for a separate communication, after my return.

I am, your obedient servant,

JOHN D. WASHBURN.

NOTE. The Hon. Boyd Winchester, an eminent citizen of Kentucky, and my predecessor as Minister of the United States in Switzerland, published, in 1891, an admirable work, entitled "The Swiss Republic." In an Appendix he prints the Latin Pact of 1291, and an English translation. This translation, Mr. Winchester adds, "was kindly made by Professor William E. Peters, of the University of Virginia, and in transmitting it he says: 'I send you a literal rendering of the Pact: the original is exceedingly rough and incorrect according to classical standards. I think, however, the sense is given. I render *uniuersitas* as district, and *Commune* might be embraced in brackets; I would render it *Canton*, but the Swiss cantons were not then formed, and the term *Commune* hardly expresses the sense, as it is French. I have had, in some cases, to force translation where the Latin is absolutely corrupt and wrong. I have aimed to make the translation, as you desired, strictly according to the Latin, and not according to what was permissible with the Latin and its collocation.'"

PROF. PETERS'S TRANSLATION.

In the name of the Lord, Amen.

Virtue is promoted and utility provided for by the state so long as covenants are firmly established with a proper basis of quiet and peace, therefore, let all men know that the valley of Uri and the entire district of the valley of Schwyz and the community of the intramontane people of the lower valley, while regarding the evil character of the times, with the view of being able more efficiently to protect themselves and their interests, and better to preserve them in their proper condition, have promised in good faith mutually to stand by one another with their help, advice, and undivided support, in their persons and property, within and without the valleys, with their entire force and united effort against all men and singular who shall inflict upon them or upon any one of them any violence, molestation or injury in plotting any evil against their persons and property, and every district has promised to another in every event to make haste whenever it shall be necessary to render it help. They also (have promised) at their individual expence to resist as it shall be necessary, the attacks of the evil-intending, to avenge wrongs, having taken their oath corporal touching the faithful

preservation of these presents from change before the ratification by oath of the instrument of Confederation. So, however, that any and every person is to be held to be subject to and to serve his Lord exactly according to the terms of his obligation. We have also promised, decided, and more, ordained by common resolve and unanimous assent that we will not, to any extent, accept or acknowledge any judge who shall secure the office itself at some price, or by money, or by any other device, or who shall not be one of our inhabitants or a provincial.

But if a disagreement shall arise among any of the confederates, the more discreet of them ought to come forward to allay the variance among the parties just as it shall appear to them to be expedient, and the party which shall reject the settlement *decided upon*, it were proper for the other confederates to be their adversaries.

Moreover, above all things, it has been ordained among them that he who shall wrongfully and without provocation murder another, if he shall be arrested, shall lose his life, as his heinous wrong doing demands, unless he shall be able to show his innocence touching the alleged crime, and if perchance he shall leave the country, he must never return, the harborers and defenders of the aforesaid malefactor are to be cut off from the valleys until they be recalled with due foresight by the Confederates. But if anyone in the daytime or in the silence of night maliciously injure any one of the Confederates by burping, he ought never to be regarded as a fellow provincial. And if anyone harbors and defends the alleged evil-doer within the valleys, he ought to render satisfaction to the person who has sustained the loss. In addition, if any one of the Confederates shall rob another of his property or otherwise inflict loss upon him, if the property of the offending party can be found within the valleys, it ought to be held for procuring satisfaction for the injured according to justice.

Moreover no one ought to take the pledge of a second unless the one be clearly a debtor or security, and this ought to be done only in accordance with a special license of a judge. Furthermore, any and every one ought to obey his judge, and to indicate the very judge, if it shall be necessary, under whom he by choice assumes the obligation to obey the law. And if anyone shall show himself defiant of the decision of a judge, and in consequence of his perverseness any of the Confederates shall be damaged, all who are under oath are held to force the aforesaid obstinate one to render satisfaction. But in case war or violent division shall arise among any of the Confederates, if one party of the disputants is not disposed to receive the award of justice or satisfaction, the Confederates are held to defend the remauling party.

The statutes above written are wholesomely ordained in behalf of the public advantage with an unlimited duration, the Lord consenting thereto. As an evidence of this act the present instrument, made according to the petition of the aforesaid persons, is confirmed by the authority of the seals of the aforementioned districts and valleys. Done in the year of the Lord 1291, in the beginning of the month of August.

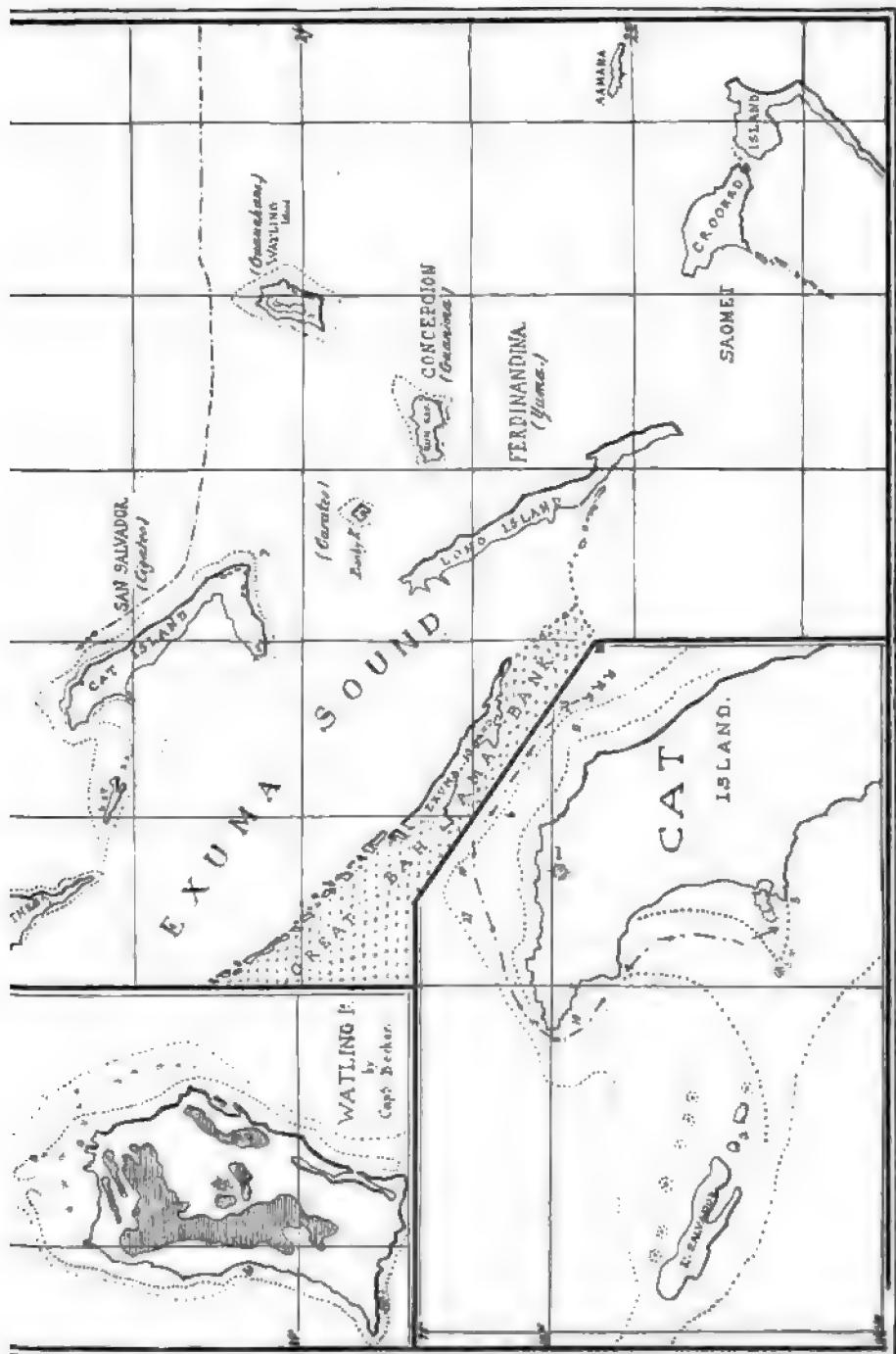
THE LANDFALL OF COLUMBUS AT SAN SALVADOR.

BY PHILLIPP J. J. VALENTINI.

UNTIL about sixty years ago, no doubt had ever been entertained as to the location of the island of the first landfall of Christopher Columbus. San Salvador, to-day Cat Island, was always given in the maps the third place within the southeast range of the Bahama group.

It was in the year 1829, that the well-known Spanish historian, Martin de Navarrete, began to open a discussion about the identity of this island of the landfall, a discussion which has not ceased up to the present day. Navarrete surprised the students by advancing a certain theory by which he tried to prove that the historic event had taken place farther down, southeast of Cat Island, on a little cay known by the name of Turk Island. Washington Irving, in answer to Navarrete's feeble argument, and feeling almost indignant at such an "unwarranted disturbance of the ancient historic landmarks," stood boldly up against the unholy trespasser, and was eagerly seconded in his efforts by Alexander von Humboldt.

A new disturber of the peace apparently established, arose in the person of A. B. Becher, a captain of the Royal British Navy. In a stout volume, "The Landfall of Columbus" (London, 1858), reasons will be found given why Watling Island, in nearest eastern vicinity to Cat Island, must be considered as having been that of the landfall. The web of this new theory was spun with so much skill, and the arguments advanced in its favor were conducted with so much spirit, that the scholarly Oscar Peschel, and with him his numerous pupils and followers, felt no hesitation in endorsing Captain Becher's discovery.



In addition to these two controversial claims, various new ones have since been made in favor of some other little Bahama islands. So, for instance, Varnhagen imagines that the little island Mariguana must have been Columbus's San Salvador. Fox favors Samana; Harris, Acklin Island. Eugen Gelcich, with all the aid afforded by the science of navigation, has subjected Columbus's oceanic course to a thorough analysis, and arrives at the perplexing result, that if the great discoverer had actually followed the course as written in his journal, he could not have reached any of the islands named, nor any continent at all, but some floating point in the solitude of the Atlantic waters.

In Justin Winsor's new work on Christopher Columbus you will find still more names connected with the discussion of the landfall. After having given an instructive synopsis of the various methods followed by the students for the purpose of defining the oceanic track and the embarrassing cruise of Columbus along the outskirts of the Bahama archipelago, the author draws a sum from which we learn that the majority appears to drift toward the opinion of Watling Island being that of the landfall.

So does also Rudolph Cronau, to whose recent publication of a work on the Discovery of America my attention was called at the completion of this paper. I am aware that Mr. Cronau's statements, in regard to the controversy, have left considerable impression on the minds of his readers. He explored Watling Island in person, and found the description given of it and especially the description of one of its western harbors that was visited and emphatically recommended by Columbus, applied with remarkable exactness to this island, and to no other. But knowing of the controversy, I think that under the circumstances given, Mr. Cronau should have extended his exploration also to the much contested San Salvador. It is this comparison between the two, that we looked for. He ought

to have crossed over from Watling to San Salvador—only a forenoon's cruise—and have returned with full evidences in hand that Columbus never trod it, before he so summarily decided in favor of the former.

I shall now lay before you the literal text of the Columbus journal in the form delivered by Bishop Las Casas, which form, as you know, is an abstract made by him from the original, and the only exhaustive document which we possess of this memorable voyage. The description of the island of the landfall and of its further exploration, fortunately has been rendered in Columbus's own words, as is expressly stated by Las Casas. Furthermore, I shall discuss the text referring to the map of the two islands, which is a section taken from the last chart issued by the Hydrographic Bureau of Washington. At the hand of this chart and the mentioned text, you will now be enabled to follow Columbus's presence in those waters, step by step, hour by hour, and I invite you to compare his words descriptive of the physical features and the harbor visited by him on the island of the landfall, with those delineated by the hydrographers of our navy. Your mind's eye will thus be impressed with all those elements necessary to form your own judgment, whether it was Watling on which Columbus landed and of which he took possession on the morning of October 12, 1492, or Cat Island, the San Salvador as it stands inscribed on all the modern maps. You must always bear in mind that there is no other document in existence to inform us about the incidents of this first landfall. Columbus is the sole witness to this event; none of his companions have left any oral or written testimony serving the purposes of identification. All the evidences *pro* and *contra*, brought into this controversy are of a circumstantial nature. Should any doubt arise as to the words or the meaning of Columbus's text, I think we may be allowed to consult the *Historie del Almirante*, a work written by his son Fernando, who for its

composition avowedly availed himself of the manuscripts of his father. It is to be regretted that this work, also, is not extant in its original Spanish wording. However, its Italian translator, Alfonso Ulloa, is known from other work he did, having translated, also, the Portuguese De Barros' *Decadas da Asia*, to be a consummate and trustworthy interpreter.

"On Thursday, October 11th," says Las Casas's abstract, "the signs of approach of land had multiplied. He (the Admiral) had been sailing west southwest and in a rough sea. On this day, at sunset, he counted twenty-seven leagues (108 miles). After sunset he resumed his former course, which had been due west, and stuck to it until two o'clock after midnight, thus having run (in this direction) ninety miles, which are twenty-two and one-half leagues. For it was at this hour that the caravel Pinta, which was a fast sailer, had struck land. Meanwhile, however, and at ten o'clock before midnight, the Admiral when spying from the forecastle, had noticed some light flickering, but on account of the darkness of the night he was not certain whether this light shone from land or not. Therefore he called for the officer Pedro Gutierrez and asked him to look and spy whether this was actually a light or not; and so Gutierrez did, and saw the light. Also Rod. Sanchez de Segovia was asked, but he did not see it because he was standing on a place where it was impossible for him to see. The Admiral had scarcely addressed this man, when one light or two again were noticed. It was as though a wax candle was lifted up and down, but there were very few to whom it appeared to be indicative of land. But the Admiral insisted that he was now near land. Therefore he had the whole crew sing the *Salve* and exhorted them to be vigilant to the utmost. Then, at two o'clock after midnight land was descried, at a distance of about two leagues. They took in all sails, and remained under square sail, lying to and lingering (*temporizando*) until daybreak, which was Friday, when they arrived at the Lucayan Island, which, in the language of the Indians, is called Guanahani."

The contents of this portion of the journal I consider to be of an importance higher than all the remaining para-

graphs still to be laid before you, and it will be worth the while to bring again the data, dispersed in the abstract, before your mind's eye. I will try to arrange them for you in a more synoptic way. According to my best understanding I will also try to comment on them. You remember the journal records, that on Thursday, at six o'clock before sunset, the Admiral ordered the ships to take a course due west. After eight hours' sail on Friday, at two o'clock in the morning, Columbus perceived a signal from Pinzon's ship, that she had struck land. The Pinta was a good sailor and had been somewhat ahead of the other ships. She had kept strictly to the ordered course. If she had not, it would have been impossible for the Admiral to hear or see the signal agreed upon. The reckoning showed that in these eight hours they had made $22\frac{1}{2}$ leagues. The journal expressly adds that this number of leagues is equivalent to ninety miles. We moreover learnt that during this sailing due west, from six to two o'clock, an intermediate event had happened. At ten o'clock, four hours after ordering the new course west, or, if you choose, four hours before meeting Pinzon, Columbus had observed some lights starting up from the surface of the ocean, which lights he insisted upon not to be meteoric lights, but managed by people on some neighboring island. The night was too dark to discover anything more particular to disprove this theory of his. Had he been ahead of the other ships, or had they been sailing in company and in the range of mutual communication, he probably would have given orders to lie-to, and await what kind of revelation the break of morning would bring. But, doing so, he would have remained out of communication with Pinzon, of whom he knew he was ahead. I also think he had some foreboding that this bad genius of his, because he left his company, was bent upon some independent work, in the midst of the darkness of this night.

From all these specified data one important fact can be

gathered, that no interruption of sailing took place during the eight hours afore-described.

We are now entitled to argue as follows: If Watling had been the island of Pinzon's landfall, the spot on which Columbus observed the lights on a presumed island, must be sought for forty-five miles backward on the sailing-track and due east of Watling. I need not say that nowhere in this direction, south or north of it, had any land or island ever been found. East of Watling stretches the unbounded sheet of the Atlantic Ocean. Therefore we are led to the conclusion, that Columbus, at ten o'clock, and in that night of utter anguish and excitement, had been seeing sights, or been haunted by a vision. However, let us not be biassed. If Watling has its advocates, Cat Island has also. It must have the same chance of discussion, and the same method of arguing must be also applied to this rival island.

Therefore we put it thus: If *Cat Island* was that of the landfall, and if we are desirous to ascertain on what spot Columbus saw the lights, this spot must be sought for backward on the sailing-track, forty-five miles *due east of Cat Island*. If in this direction and at this distance some island is struck, it necessarily must be considered as that of the lights. And if we now apply the scale and measure, *it is Watling Island that we strike*. This discovery, of course, requires still further confirmation, and will come from no less authority than the lips of King Fernando of Castile himself. But I shall not quote the king's words at this section of the paper, but will resume the text of Columbus's journal, in order to learn what points of identification the *discoverer* furnished us for recognizing Cat Island as that of the landfall. The text was left at the words, that after joining Pinzon, at a distance of about eight miles from the coast, the fleet took in all minor sails and was tacking until dawn, when they noticed the natives assembling on the shore. What course was taken within these four hours, the journal does not express. Washing-

ton Irving makes the fleet shift south and drop anchor at the southern cape of the island. It will be presently shown that they chose the course north, profiting by a current running that way. What view the place presented, on which the landing took place, is not expressed. The journal only says, that when invited and hailed by the natives, three boats were manned, Pinzon, his brother, and the Admiral commanding them in person. They reach the shore and after a solemn service take possession of the island. Let me pass over the often-told tale of this first meeting of Europeans with natives of America, and only quote those words which are descriptive of the physical features of the island of the landfall. I must still remark, those words were not written on the eve of the day of landing. Columbus made no entry at all, on this Friday, in his journal. You find them dated, Saturday, October 13, and after having experienced an unexpected visit *en masse*, from the natives, in their canoes, on board his ship. These words, therefore, represent the impression, gathered from the aspect of the island, during two days, Friday and Saturday. After having recorded that he had elicited from his guests that the golden earrings and nose rings they wore, were manufactured by the king living in some island of the South, he says: "The island (before us) is pretty large (*bien grande*), very level; has very healthy trees, many places of water (*muchas aguas*), and a large lake in the midst of it. It has no mountains; but all is so verdant, that it is a pleasure to see it."

The statement, as you will have noticed, is commonplace. It bears not on its face such individual traits as are desirable for our purposes of identification, and the traits presented could be applied as well to any of the Bahama coral-islands, as was done by those students who pleaded in favor of Mariguana, Turk Island, Acklin and Samana. The advocate of Watling, Captain Becher, and its latest visitor, Mr. Cronau, have laid great stress upon the fact that Cat Island

lacks the important characteristic of "a lake in the midst," as Columbus put it, while such a lake is actually in existence on Watling Island. Now, this island is pretty well explored, it is the residence of many English settlers, and Cat Island is not. If the lake in question was not put down on the map of the latter by the hydrographers, it does not necessarily follow that there is no lake at all in that place, or that none has ever there existed. It may have dried up in the course of these four hundred years. Moreover, the map of Watling does not show a large lake; it shows six, nay, seven of them. Captain Owen, a visitor of Watling, describes it as "more than half eaten with lakes and ponds, all of them of salt water." It is this unusual ratio of the water to the land-area that struck his eye as very uncommon, and ought to have struck, also, the observing eyes of Columbus and been mentioned in the journal, if he had ever cast anchor before Watling and trod its soil. My opinion in regard to this lake is as follows: Columbus makes mention of it in connection with the great amount of fresh water, as I think that *muchas aguas* must be translated from the Spanish. To learn where this supply of water which the natives brought him to fill the empty casks, came from, was of highest interest to him, not only for his information, but particularly because when coasting, he must have noticed the island showed no creek or river. Upon his inquiry, then, very probably, the natives tried to tell or to explain to him the presence of many artificial or natural reservoirs, filled with rainwater, such as are found on all those coral islands, and which enabled them to live out the dry season. To them and to their limited conceptions, some of these large reservoirs existing somewhere in the middle of the island may have appeared of enormous extent, although in fact, they may have been as small as any of the eight we notice on the chart lying near the coast and observed by the surveying parties. You see the argument is not so strong and plead-

ing so vigorously for Watling as it appears at first sight. On the other hand, there is one characteristic mentioned by Columbus, but overlooked by Becher as well as Cronau, that is very indicative of the island of the landfall. He said, "The island is pretty large." In itself, this expression is vague and tells almost nothing. But no doubt Columbus must have left some estimate of its length, and if he did not put it in the journal, or if Las Casas inadvertently dropped it, the son Fernando did preserve it. The XXII. chapter of the "Historie" begins with these words: "At dawn they saw it was an island of fifteen leagues length, level, without mountains, stocked with many healthy trees, with beautiful water-places and a large lake in the middle." These are the very same words read in the journal, with the addition, only, that the island was fifteen leagues in length, which are equivalent to sixty miles. When measured, the island in reality is not longer than forty-five miles. This is a pretty large dimension for an island. The length of Watling, however, is only fifteen miles. I do not think Columbus would have called Watling a large island. This much is certain: no helpful material, no definite conclusion for the purposes of identification can be drawn from these words.

Far more suggestive, because interpretative of a positive locality, and like a picture drawn on the spot by a tourist will appear the following passage of the journal. It connects with the words expressing Columbus's resolve to sail south to the island where a king was said to be the manufacturer of golden trifles. However, before sailing, on the morning of October 14th, Tuesday, the Admiral suddenly decides upon a closer reconnoitering of the island. The boats are made ready for the trip. I now translate literally:—

"I rowed along the coast, north-north-east, to learn something of the other side of the island. Here, too, I was received by the natives in the most pleasant manner.

They invited me by signs to come on land. But I was afraid to do this. For I noticed an extensive reef of rocks surrounding the whole island. However, between it and the beach the water is deep, thus forming a harbor for the ships of all Christendom. But the outer entrance-channel is very narrow. Nevertheless, inside of this belt of reefs, there are certain shallows. And on the whole surface the water does not stir more than in a well. In order to survey all these things, and to report to Your Highness, and to decide where a fort could be built, I was busy during this whole morning. While thus engaged in the survey, I noticed a strip of land, that looks like an island, although it is not. I found six huts built on it. It could easily be cut off from the land, with two days work, but I do not see the necessity, because these people are peaceful and without weapons. I also saw close to this island gardens planted with the most beautiful trees. I examined every thing about this harbor, and then returned to the ships and made sail. I had seen so many islands that I did not know which to go to first. But the natives whom I had picked up, made me understand by signs, that there were many islands, so many that one could not count them, and they told me the names of more than a hundred of them. However I determined to make for the biggest, which is about 5 or 7 leagues distant from this island of S^{an} Salvador." (a. s. o.)

You will notice on the chart that none of the Bahama islands, at least on their northern end, show a trend to the north-north-east. Like the veins of precious metals in Mexico and Central America, the tendency of all these coral islands is always in the direction of the north-west. The larger ones, as Watling, San Salvador, Long Island and Crooked Island, show this trend conspicuously. If the land proper does not express it, the reefs and bank lines do. Thus, any skipper coming from the east, who, after striking the land, wants to round it on the *north* side, cannot help sailing or rowing first in the direction north-north-west. I must call your attention to this physical fact, because the journal prints the course taken by the boats north-north-east. This indicates that a mistake

has been committed either by Las Casas, or his printers. That this was so, also, is proved from Fernando's text, who, in the description of this trip (again made in his father's phraseology) shows the course north-north-west.

Let us now follow on the chart the boats rowing around the cape. No doubt they will have secured from the natives a pilot to guide them through the reefs. They will have hugged the shore to save time. When arriving at the western point, they seem to have found the channel marked on the chart with ten fathoms depth, a passage marked in the journal as considerably narrow and very deep. At this place the eye of the attentive leader must quickly have perceived that the surface of water to the starboard was but slightly rippled, the manifest reason being that this portion of the water-sheet was sheltered against the violence of the sea by a line of reefs (see chart). On his further progress south, he moreover will have observed the same expanse of water being girt by another and second line of reefs. He found himself moving in the secure lap of a natural basin of a dock built up by coral walls, or as he put it "of a harbor whose surface was rocking as smoothly as in a well, and so spacious that in its precincts the ships of all Christendom could anchor." Advancing in the direction south, the chart shows that the curved shore-line runs out in a pointed headland. This headland is formed by a coral-spit, at the root of which and quite near the shore a small island makes its appearance. When seen from a distance, this little islet must appear belonging to the main. So Columbus supposed. But when approaching, he saw it was detached. Of this he writes, "When looking out where a fort could be built, I noticed a strip of land that looks like an island, although it is not." And of the silt accumulated between the two bodies, he calculated that it could be removed by two days digging, so as to isolate the islet and build a fort on it. Now, this phenomenon of little islands separating from a coral headland, is a feature com-

mon to the tropical waters. Thus I am not at all astonished that Mr. Cronau found the like on the west shore of Watling Island, and that he points to it as the one met with by Columbus on the described trip. I only wish he had expressed this feature with all its details on his map. Nor do I find it on the hydrographic chart of Watling, but only on that of Cat Island, and there conspicuously facing the waters of a harbor protected on all sides by a bastion of coral-reefs. The above-mentioned Captain Owen would not have failed in detecting such an opportunity. He tells us of his having rounded the whole island of Watling for the purpose of espying a safe anchorage for a craft larger than a boat or a canoe. His intention was to establish, somewhere on the shores of Watling, a salt-work, drain the neighboring lagoons and export the product, but for the reason alleged, he abandoned his plans. It is only by a careful comparative surveying of the two islands that this point will be definitely settled.

Thus far, the discussion has been directly from the chart. As the characteristics displayed there seem to speak strongly in favor of Cat Island, allow me to extend the discussion by seeking for further explantion of some points of interest that are not directly expressed in the journal, but which, with the help of the chart may be determined.

One of these points is in regard to the anchorage on the morning of October 12. We already learned that it took place at the northern part of the island. But possibly we may employ the data given by the journal for verifying the spot with greater certainty and accuracy. You remember Columbus started for the inspection of the other side of the island, October 14, Sunday, at dawn. He was busy with the survey of the harbor during the whole forenoon (*toda la mañana*), and finally he was back to his ships at night-time. Now, assuming the boats to leave the anchor-place about 5 o'clock in the morning, they must at the latest, have stood before the entrance-channel at 8 o'clock,

because the other hours of the forenoon, as Columbus expressly says, were taken up in making the trip around the inner harbor-line as far as to the little peninsula-islet. He would have been through this work in six hours, more or less, and have been at the entrance, on his return, between 2 and 3 o'clock of the afternoon, and then would have spent the remaining hours in reaching the ships, so as to be on board at night-time. When leaving the ships, in the morning, we may further assume the oarsmen had a good breeze, on account of the constancy of the trade-winds, and could thus accomplish the trip in much less time than on their return. On their way back, however, the crew had to struggle against the drift, an effort dwelt upon by Fernando, expressed by the words: "and tired indeed were the crew from rowing so much." If we now measure on the chart the distance from the entrance (fathom 10) back to the place where you see marked three anchors, we find it to be about thirty miles, a distance which in the morning could be done in three hours, and in twice that time in the afternoon. Had the anchorage been much farther south, they would not have been able, between dawn and dark, to accomplish such a task. Furthermore, it will be admitted that the Admiral, if anchored much farther south, would not have gone in boats, but would have chosen the ships for this purpose. Therefore, this very interesting spot must be sought for pretty near the northern turn of the island.

The same conclusion will be reached when examining the course the fleet had taken on the morning of the memorable Friday. From the meeting-point up to the anchorage it took nearly four hours. Its former rate of sailing had been twelve miles an hour. After meeting they reduced sail, feeling cautiously their way north, along the shore line of the island. Let us say their rate of sailing was now not more than six miles an hour. When measuring these twenty-four miles from the meeting point up to the northern anchorage, you will find the latter coinciding

with the same point that was reached by the previous calculation.

Having arrived at this stage of my argument you will find it pardonable that I should venture making a certain suggestion. If I did not go wrong in all my deductions, I think there will not be any difficulty at all in the identification of the very spot on which, at dawn, Columbus met the native fishermen assembled, the beach to which he had been rowing in his four boats, and therefore that remarkable place on which he took possession of his long-sought-for Western Continent. He will have met them where they had their huts, and above all, where they could beach their small canoes unharmed by surf or breakers, under the lee of some natural jetty, a nook, or a cove. The charts cannot be expected to show every small accident of this kind occurring along the coast-line of a solitary island, or trace the narrow coral clefts through which to slip with safety across the banks to the shore. Such details are only known to the born islanders. But should Cat Island be surveyed for the special purposes of identification, somewhere and opposite the spot confined to the anchorage, a place of this description will be detected. They are, so to speak, stations of privilege, inherited from generation to generation, and although the old Lucayan piscatory tribe has died out, some new tribe will be found there to-day hauling their boats under the same shelter.

This much and not more is all that I found pleading in favor of the landfall at Cat Island, at the hands of the hydrographic chart from the scanty record left by the discoverer. I wish you to admit the fact that my arguing was only from data positively expressed and that I have refrained from introducing any circumstantial evidence. My contribution to the controversy does not reach farther than to show, also, the other side of the question, and the strength of the position that may be taken in its defence.

As to the ultimate decision it can only be given after a

conscientious and unbiased investigation to be made of both islands, for this special purpose.

To conclude—there is no record that either of the two islands was ever visited from motives of historic curiosity or from desire of verification, during Columbus's lifetime. It is only Ponce de Leon, of whom we read that he pretended having visited "Guanahani," on his Florida expedition, in 1513. Which of the Bahamas he meant cannot be ascertained with any certainty. To judge from the charts of the Bahama Islands, up to the year 1601, this hydrographic section of the Spanish domain seems to have remained without any accurate survey—mere drawings from hearsay and fancy. Antonio de Herrera's little map (1601) is the first somewhat satisfactory attempt to group the islands according to their situation in nature. As incomplete as all these Spanish charts had been, nevertheless, their reading as well as that from the globes yields one fact, which briefly expressed is this: that all of them persistently ignore San Salvador, and under the name of Guanahani bring Watling Island instead into prominence, which makes its conspicuous appearance in its correct natural position, namely, farthest outside east of all the other Bahamas. On the contrary, when inspecting the maps published after 1601 and in the ensuing centuries down to the present day, we shall observe the name Guanahani supplanted by that of Watling, and west of it Cat Island looming up in its leg-formed shape, inscribed with the name San Salvador. These maps are all of French, of Dutch and of English manufacture.

By what reasons these foreign geographers were prompted to consider this alteration of the Spanish maps to be necessary and indicated, I have been unable to fathom and would be thankful to learn. But the observation in itself was of great interest to me, because the study of this subject began to teach me that, to put it modestly, Cat Island has a claim as strong as Watling has, a claim that is

hallowed by tradition. For it must be owned that the Spaniards, in the epoch immediately following their discoveries, ought to have been more correctly informed in matters of their national history, than any foreigner some centuries later.

Here is a dilemma. But there is also an escape from it. If looking at both sides of the controversy and considering the divergent statements of cartographic expression, we may finally incline toward the conciliatory conclusion, that they represent nothing more than two different views taken of the same historic event. *The Spaniards seem to have given prominence to the fact that the first light was seen on Watling Island,—the foreigners, that the first land was sighted at Cat Island.* For the alleged Spanish preference of Watling there is positive proof extant. Both the journal of the Admiral and the “*Historie*” written by his son tell us that a reward of thirty *scudi* had been offered by the Crown to the one who on this voyage across the ocean should first see “land.” No doubt a generous and liberal interpretation would have awarded poor Roderigo de Triana the prize. He was the mate on Pinzon’s ship that first descried the hazy outlines of San Salvador. On the return to Castile, however, the monarchs decided the Admiral to be the indisputable winner of that life-pension. Fernando clothes the monarchs’ sentence in the records, as follows: “because the Admiral had seen the light in the midst of the darkness, denoting the Spiritual Light that he was to introduce into those dark countries.”

I am quite well aware that this sentence does not carry all the light that is required. It lacks the confirmation that the *light shone on an island*. Nevertheless, can we presume the king would have decided against the poor sailor without being fully satisfied of the fact that the island really had been seen on the ensuing days, by all the crew and officers? No doubt that some dispute about the Admiral’s claim must have arisen in the very moment of his meet-

ing with Pinzon. The natives will have been questioned, yet found unable to understand what they were asked for. Under these circumstances, and before Columbus left these waters, he will have taken care to set at rest the minds of all the doubters. On Monday morning, October 15, we find him spreading sail to the south and reaching Conception at noon. He sought this island by its eastern side, as is expressly stated. Therefore, by ten or eleven o'clock in the forenoon he must have been able to descry the outlines of Watling Island. They must have been visible at a distance of about ten miles, because the southern shore of Watling → is not flat, but heaves "rocky breasts" toward the sky. None of the disputant companions will then have denied that this island was the spot on which the Admiral had seen the lights.

It is in this way that I understand the monarchs could have given their sentence, and so sanction Watling Island as that of the discovery. The landing or the landfall at San Salvador sank in oblivion before the halo surrounding the island of the lights.





VOL. VIII.

NEW SERIES.

PART 2.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

American Antiquarian Society,

AT THE

ANNUAL MEETING HELD IN WORCESTER,

OCTOBER 21, 1892.



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PROCEEDINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 21, 1892, AT THE HALL OF THE SOCIETY, IN WORCESTER.

THE Society was called to order at 10.30 A. M. by the President, **STEPHEN SALISBURY, A.M.**

The following members were present :—

George E. Ellis, Edward E. Hale, Andrew P. Peabody, Nathaniel Paine, Stephen Salisbury, P. Emory Aldrich, Samuel A. Green, Elijah B. Stoddard, George S. Paine, Edward L. Davis, William A. Smith, James F. Hunnewell, Egbert C. Smyth, Edward H. Hall, Albert H. Hoyt, Edward G. Porter, Reuben A. Guild, Charles C. Smith, Francis A. Walker, Edmund M. Barton, Thomas L. Nelson, Franklin B. Dexter, George P. Fisher, Charles A. Chase, Samuel S. Green, Henry W. Haynes, Andrew McF. Davis, J. Evarts Greene, Henry S. Nourse, William B. Weeden, Robert N. Toppin, Henry H. Edes, Frank P. Goulding, G. Stanley Hall, John McK. Merriam, William E. Foster, Hamilton A. Hill, John F. Jameson, Charles P. Bowditch, Edwin D. Mead, Charles Francis Adams, Calvin Stebbins, Francis H. Dewey, Benjamin A. Gould.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

THE PRESIDENT :—“Gentlemen, to-day completes eighty years of the existence of this Society, and, from very early in its inception special note has been made of the anniversary that is so generally celebrated to-day. It has been spoken of in the early reports and addresses of the Society, and, as you will learn to-day, has been considered as the most important epoch connected with the organization of this learned Society. The whole of the United States

to-day are recognizing this day which this Society so long has cherished. It has been considered desirable by members of the Society that special reference to this anniversary should be taken, in the exercises to-day."

As a part of the report of the Council, the Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., read a biographical sketch of THOMAS CHASE, LL.D., and the SECRETARY *pro tem.* read memorials of GEORGE H. MOORE, LL.D., Sir DANIEL WILSON and GEORGE P. BRINLEY, Esq.

Dr. HALE, in continuation of the report, read a paper upon "The Results of Columbus's Discovery."

NATHANIEL PAYNE, Esq., presented his report as Treasurer, in print, and the Librarian's report was read by Mr. EDMUND M. BARTON.

All these reports were accepted as the report of the Council.

Hon. P. EMORY ALDRICH: "I move the acceptance of the Report of the Council and that it be referred to the committee of publication. And will you permit me, Mr. President, to accompany this motion with a few words upon one topic alluded to by Dr. HALE in the closing paragraphs of his report, and that is, the relation of the Judiciary to the other co-ordinate departments in our system of government. It may be confidently affirmed, that whatever of good or evil to mankind may have resulted from the discovery of America by Columbus, one thing which is new in the history of governments has been accomplished here, and which may now be considered as having passed its experimental stage, and become an established feature of our government, and which, it is believed, can be found in no other civil government in the world.

" We are in this country to a very great extent governed by the Judiciary department of government. In England, as is well known, the supreme power of government resides in Parliament, which is said to be, within the sphere of government, omnipotent. The English Parliament is both

a legislative and constituent assembly. It can pass or repeal, not only ordinary statutes, but it has authority to enact or abrogate statutes which have been or which may be regarded as part of the unwritten constitution of the United Kingdom. Parliament, in the plenitude of its power, can even alter the character of the English government and change the succession to the crown. The Judiciary in England, on the contrary, possesses no power, or at any rate, it never exercises the power of revising an act of Parliament to determine whether it is, or is not, within the spirit and just interpretation of the constitution. The English courts never declare an act of Parliament unconstitutional. The same thing is true of the courts in France and Belgium, although both of these countries have written constitutions. But their courts, not even the highest, never do, what is often done by our courts, declare acts of the supreme legislative power void and of no binding force because of their conflict with the provisions of the constitution.

... France and Belgium, being,' says a learned writer, 'governed under unitarian constitutions, the non-sovereign character of the legislature is, in each case, an accident, not an essential property of their polity,'¹ and the only safeguard against unconstitutional legislation under these constitutions is the respect for the constitution secured by moral and political sanctions. But under our federal system of government the constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, are declared to be the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby. Hence it becomes the duty of every judge, whether of a State or federal court, when a question is raised as to the constitutionality of a statute, State or federal, relied upon in the prosecution or defence of a suit before him, to determine

¹ Dicey on The Law of the Constitution, pp. 143, 144.

and declare the statute to be constitutional or otherwise. And when that judgment is pronounced by the highest judicial tribunal authorized to deal with the question, it becomes binding upon, not only the parties to the suit, but upon all other departments of the government.

" This power in the courts to declare acts of the legislative department unconstitutional, and so null and void, is not expressly granted to the courts, either in the constitution of the United States or of the individual States; but it necessarily springs out of our federal system of government. There may be a federal government, as for example that of Switzerland, under which this extraordinary power is not vested in the courts. But it will be found that the Swiss constitution differs in many important respects from that of the United States.

" It is a peculiarity of this feature of our government, that, although this great power is possessed by the courts, it can never be called into exercise until it is invoked in a cause before the court for trial or hearing; in other words, a lawsuit brings the validity or constitutionality of the law into question. This subject has not received hitherto that attention among our own writers which its importance would seem to demand. It has been treated in a very satisfactory manner by three eminent foreign writers, viz.: by De Tocqueville in his two volumes, ' Democracy in America'; by Professor Bryce in ' The American Commonwealth,' and by Professor Dicey in his ' Lectures on the Law of the Constitution.' And the subject was discussed in two very able addresses at the last meeting of the American Bar Association; one by Hon. J. Randolph Tucker of Virginia, and the other by Judge Dillon of New York. But when we reflect that it has been no uncommon occurrence for the Supreme Court of the United States to declare acts of Congress unconstitutional, and for the courts of last resort in the several States, to make similar declarations as to acts of the State legislatures, we cannot but feel some

surprise that the attention of the American people was first called to this most novel and most important element in our form of government in any other than professional works, by foreign writers. To such an extent have many of the provisions of our federal and State constitutions been made the subjects of judicial construction, that no adequate knowledge of the constitutions much less of constitutional law can be acquired without a careful study of the judgments of the courts in connection with the reading of the text of the constitutions. In a word, the constitutions are what the courts say they are, and so the ultimate governing authority is found in the courts."

Rev. GEORGE P. FISHER, D.D. :— "In connection with the observations made by Judge ALDRICH, I would say a word respecting the desirableness that writers upon American history should take pains to point out what is peculiar in American institutions and of distinctly American origin: of course we are obliged to trace our institutions and customs back to the Old World, and there is a constant effort made to find the source of what exists among us in the Old World. A class of writers are now very active in disseminating what I would call the Dutch myths. They would trace our institutions and whatever is praiseworthy in them to Holland. It seems to me, while exploring the origins of American history, we should take pains to point out also, what is indigenous and peculiar. I have been very much interested in the paper which has been read by Dr. HALE. He quoted from one of the authors, that among the advantages which this country has conferred upon the Old World is the product known as Peruvian bark, what we call quinine. I am reminded of a remark of Voltaire, in his philosophical dictionary, who sets it down as one of the mysteries of Divine Providence that a disease should be found in one continent, and the remedy should be found in another."

Rev. Dr. PEABODY :— "I would like to ask whether the supremacy of the judiciary is not the logical sequence and

a necessary inference from the written constitution as the fundamental law of the country and of the State?"

Judge ALDRICH:—"Yes, that is practically admitted to be the origin and foundation."

The motion made by Judge ALDRICH was adopted.

On a ballot for President, STEPHEN SALISBURY, A.M., was unanimously elected to the office.

A committee, of which Mr ROBERT N. TOPPAN was chairman, appointed to nominate the remaining officers to be chosen, reported the following list:—

Vice-Presidents:

Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, LL.D., of Worcester.

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., of Boston.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence:

Hon. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, LL.D., of Hartford, Ct.

Secretary for Domestic Correspondence:

Rev. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D., of Boston.

Recording Secretary:

Hon. JOHN D. WASHBURN, LL.B., of Worcester.

Treasurer:

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., of Worcester.

All the above being *ex-officio* members of the Council, and the following—

Councillors:

Hon. SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D., of Boston.

Hon. P. EMORY ALDRICH, LL.D., of Worcester.

Rev. EGBERT C. SMYTH, D.D., of Andover.

SAMUEL S. GREEN, A.M., of Worcester.

Rev. ANDREW P. PEABODY, D.D., of Cambridge.

CHARLES A. CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.

Hon. EDWARD L. DAVIS, of Worcester.

FRANKLIN B. DEXTER, A.M., of New Haven, Ct.
J. EVARTS GREENE, A.B., of Worcester.
G. STANLEY HALL, LL.D., of Worcester.

Committee of Publication:

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., of Boston.
NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., of Worcester.
CHARLES A. CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.
CHARLES C. SMITH, A.M., of Boston.

Auditors:

WILLIAM A. SMITH, A.B., of Worcester.
A. GEORGE BULLOCK, A.M., of Worcester.

By order of the Society, the **SECRETARY *pro tem.*** cast a yea ballot for the officers above named, and they were declared by the **PRESIDENT** to be elected.

A letter from **Rev. LUCIUS R. PAIGE, D.D.**, regretting his inability to be present, was read by **Hon. SAMUEL A. GREEN**, and the **SECRETARY *pro tem.*** was instructed to convey the felicitations of the Society to Dr. **PAIGE**.

The **SECRETARY *pro tem.*** reported that the Council had voted to recommend to the Society the names of—

Hon. EDWARD L. PIERCE, LL.D., of Milton,
EUGENE F. BLISS, A.M., of Cincinnati, Ohio,
for domestic membership, and
Mr. JOHN BELLOWES, of Gloucester, England,
CHARLES H. FIRTH, M.A., of Oxford, England,
for foreign membership.

They were duly elected on separate ballots.

Mr. SAMUEL S. GREEN thought proper for the Society on this anniversary to express their appreciation of the valuable services which have been rendered by **Mr. Henry Harrisse** of America and Paris. “No scholar writes anything of importance about Columbus, or the discovery

of America, without taking into a careful account the investigations and conclusions of Mr. Harrisé upon the subject he is considering. It seems to me particularly appropriate that he should be remembered here to-day."

Mr. WILLIAM B. WEEDEN, of Providence, read a paper on "The World of Commerce in 1492."

President HALL of Clark University made remarks on the condition of the different sciences in 1492.

Mr. EDWARD H. THOMPSON, U. S. Consul to Yucatan, read papers on "The Ancient Structures of Yucatan not Communal Dwellings," and "Yucatan at the Time of its Discovery."

The PRESIDENT:—"I would call attention to one matter that Mr. THOMPSON omitted to mention. Here is a representation of the costume of a warrior, and others showing their implements of warfare, and in no case, I am informed by Mr. THOMPSON, is there to be found any representation of the bow and arrow."

Hon. SAMUEL A. GREEN:—"In keeping with this anniversary, Mr. President, as well as in harmony with the subject of the interesting papers to which we have listened to-day, I wish to present to the Society a silver Medal struck in honor of the great navigator and discoverer. On the obverse is the head of Christopher Columbus, and on the reverse, an inscription in Italian: 'Genoa to the scientific Italians.' It was made by G. Girometti, and is dated 1846. More than thirty-five years ago I bought it in Florence, but know nothing further in regard to its history."

Mr. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS:—"As probably the youngest member of this Society here present,—having been elected a member but a year ago, and never before having attended a meeting,—I certainly should not have taken part in the active proceedings of to-day but for the pointed, and, if he will permit me to say so, somewhat appalling, if unexplained, allusions made to me by Mr.

HALE. As we were coming into the room this morning, I accidentally joined Mr. HALE, and, when he told me that he proposed to read a paper on the Columbus celebration, I jocosely remarked that if he did so I hoped he meant to take the only really correct view of the discovery of America, to wit: that it had proved an almost unmitigated calamity to mankind. He received the remark in the jesting spirit in which it was meant; but a burnt child fears the fire, and experience has taught me that irony sometimes entails unexpected consequences. It is apt to be taken seriously. For instance, a number of years ago I was a member of the school committee of the town of Quincy. The children in one of our school districts,—that in which the granite quarries are situated,—increased with such awful rapidity that they were continually overcrowding the school accommodations, and there was an incessant call for additional room and more teachers. At a meeting of the committee held one afternoon, the usual application came in for additional accommodations and larger expenditure for that district. The members of the committee, having no means at their disposal, were eyeing each other in a somewhat perplexed state of mind, when I asked the member of the committee from the district in question, why it was he did not perform his duty under the circumstances with more efficiency, and reduce the number of children in a natural way by having the cover left off the reservoir, adding, meditatively, the words, 'Oh, for one hour of good King Herod!' I heard nothing more of the incident until the next annual town-meeting, when, to my intense delight, I was solemnly arraigned for the inhumanity of my suggestion. Since then, when I allow myself to indulge in a bit of jocose irony, I am careful that it is not misunderstood; and for that reason, in view of Mr. HALE's very pointed allusions, I now find myself on my feet.

"To demonstrate that the discovery of America has proved an unmitigated misfortune for mankind would be a

rather large contract for anyone to assume just at the close of a meeting of this sort, especially at the moment when the members propose to adjourn for that entertainment which our president has so kindly intimated is now prepared for us close at hand. Nevertheless, though I do not propose to demonstrate that the discovery of America has proved an unmitigated misfortune to mankind, I am prepared to maintain, after listening to Mr. HALE's paper, that the discovery of America by Columbus in 1492, he then sailing in the employ of Spain, was a misfortune to mankind, and a misfortune of a very lasting, as well as serious, nature.

"I did not come here to-day prepared to hold forth on this thesis, and, indeed, I may add I never thought of it from any such point of view until I listened to what Mr. HALE has read. Nevertheless, I think I am quite safe in asserting that, at the time Columbus discovered America, that discovery was, so to speak, in the air, and would inevitably have taken place a few years later. This, I believe, is a familiar and accepted fact in history. I refer, of course, to the well-known voyage of Don Pedro Alvarez de Cabral in 1500, in which, on his way to the Cape of Good Hope, he suddenly brought up on the coast of Brazil. As everyone knows, when science and the intellectual movement of mankind reach a certain point, that which occurs is apt to be inevitable. The only variable thing in it is the way in which it comes about. Sometimes the light strikes one person, as in the case of Columbus; sometimes it strikes several almost simultaneously. For instance, everyone here present knows that, at the very time Darwin was developing his theory of the evolution of Man, Wallace, on the other side of the globe, conceived and put in writing the same thought. Again, only a few years ago in Boston, anæsthetics were discovered so simultaneously by Morton and Jackson that no mortal man has ever been able to say which used ether first. This fact, indeed, led to the

well-known witticism of Thomas G. Appleton,—‘Tom’ Appleton,—who, when asked what name should be inscribed on the monument to ether erected in the Public Garden at Boston, whether that of Jackson or that of Morton, replied that, upon the whole, it had better be inscribed simply ‘To E(i)ther.’

“The discovery of America, therefore, I confidently submit, could not have been long deferred, if Columbus never had been born, or if his entire squadron had gone to the bottom of the sea in September, 1492. The only essential thing about the discovery was, consequently, that it was made in the interests of Spain. With equal confidence I submit that it was, as the result proved, in no way for the interest of mankind that, just at that particular period, the gold and treasure of the New World should be put at the service of Spain. I have not space now to follow this line of thought out, though I may recur to it in another form at some future time. But I do not hesitate to say that, if the history of the rise of the Dutch Republic and of the great Armada are referred to, it will be found that to England and Holland, at least, the gold of the New World in the hands of Spain was not a factor for good. Indeed, I take it to be indisputable that, coming to America as he did in Spanish caravels, Columbus brought with him Philip II. of Spain, Torquemada and the Roman Catholic Church of the fifteenth century, together with the inquisition and slavery, and let them loose on the land he discovered. Under these circumstances, however it may be as a whole in the subsequent four centuries, the immediate results of the discovery of America by Columbus, to which Mr. HALE has more particularly referred, by no means, I submit, resulted in that unmitigated beneficence which might be inferred from the poetry he has so forcibly quoted. If doubts are entertained on this subject by any member of the Society, I think such member would make some progress towards resolving these doubts by making a brief visit to Cuba, or

Mexico, or, indeed, to any of the southern republics, with the possible exception of Chile. After so doing, I fancy it not impossible that our doubting brother might reach the conclusion that, after all, it would have been a piece of not wholly unalloyed bad fortune for those countries at least, if Columbus had gone to the bottom of the sea on his westward voyage, if, by his so doing, it might have been left for some Dutchman or Englishman of a later period to discover the New World."

Mr. ANDREW McF. DAVIS presented a paper upon the "Lady Mowison Scholarship at Cambridge."

On motion of Hon. EDWARD L. DAVIS, the gentlemen who had made remarks were requested to reduce them to writing, and all the proceedings of the meeting were referred to the Committee of Publication.

Adjourned.

CHARLES A. CHASE,
Secretary pro tempore.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE Council of the American Antiquarian Society has the honor to congratulate the Society on the return of its eightieth birthday. It seems at its advanced age to live in perpetual youth. Its reputation is at its best; its usefulness is gratefully acknowledged; the contributions to its Library in the last half-year have been made by a larger number of friends than we have ever before had to thank in that period. Our Treasurer reports a larger store than ever,—and is still ready for larger gifts. So that we engage on the new year with confidence.

We must, however, report the loss from our roll of members of three names of gentlemen whose lives, if continued, would have rendered good service to men. Since we met in April, Sir Daniel Wilson, Mr. George P. Brinley and Dr. Thomas Chase have died. Our associate, Mr. Charles A. Chase, has prepared a biographical notice of Sir Daniel and of Mr. Brinley, which I will ask him to read.

Mr. Chase then read the following biographical sketches:

Sir Daniel Wilson, LL.D., K.C.B., President of University College, Toronto, died at his residence in that city on August 6th last, at the age of 66 years, 7 months and 1 day. He was born in the city of Edinburgh, and was one of a large family. Prof. George Wilson, who attained a great reputation as a chemist and writer, was an elder brother. A brief apprenticeship to an engraver formed the only interruption to his studies, and in early manhood he repaired to London to prosecute his researches. From necessity he employed his pen for his support from the beginning. At the instance of the historian Hallam and of Lord Elgin, he was appointed in 1853, to the chair of history and English literature in University College.

In 1881, he was made president. In 1882, he was named by the Marquis of Lorne, vice-president of the literature section of the Royal Society of Canada, and became its president three years later. He was honored with knighthood in 1888, in recognition of his great services in the cause of education. During the summer of last year, he revisited Edinburgh, and was given "the freedom of the city," an honor which afforded him great gratification. He received the degree of LL.D. from Aberdeen College many years ago, and had been honored in a similar way by other colleges and universities.

At the time of Professor Wilson's accession to the university, there was a strong feeling in Canada in favor of dividing its revenues with the other institutions of the country which were of a denominational character. Although a staunch member of the Church of England he vigorously resisted the long-continued efforts in that direction which, if carried out, would have reduced the institution to the character of an academy; and under his successful and popular management the college has maintained a constant and lively growth.

Among his earlier writings were: "Memorials of Edinburgh in the olden time"; "Oliver Cromwell and the Protectorate"; "The Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland"; "Prehistoric Man"; "Researches into the Origin of Civilization in the Old and the New World"; "Chatterton, a Biographical Study"; "Caliban, the Missing Link"; and "Spring Wild Flowers," a volume of poems. In 1885, appeared his work on anthropology, and in 1890, "William Nelson, a Memoir." "The Right Hand: Left-handedness," a monograph from his pen, has recently appeared in England. It is claimed that he was the first to use the word "prehistoric" in its now generally accepted sense. He travelled extensively to carry out his ethnological pursuits, and was skilful in handling both the pencil and the brush. Many of the numerous

illustrations of some of his publications were the work of his own hand.

Although a hard worker, Sir Daniel was fortunate in being able to throw aside his work at times and indulge in a genial and sometimes playful humor. While appreciating fully the honor which his native city bestowed upon him on his last visit, he spoke of it to his students as being of value because it gave him the right to pasture his geese on the public common, and he talked of chartering a steamer to carry them over. He was fond of applying to himself the words which had fallen from the mouth of a friend: "Yes, I have had a great deal of trouble,—but most of it never happened!"

Dr. Wilson had been secretary of the Society of Antiquaries before coming to this country. In accepting his membership in our Society, to which he was elected in 1861, he wrote:—

" . . . Having long been an active member of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, as well as of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain, there is no American society the membership of which I should esteem more highly than that of the learned body whose valuable *archæologia* I have long consulted with interest."

His contributions to our Proceedings included a paper on "Indications of Ancient Customs suggested by Certain Cranial Forms," for the April, 1863, meeting, and an obituary notice of John Strachan, Bishop of Canada West.

George P. Brinley died at his home in Newington, Conn., on August 24, 1892.

Mr. Brinley's father, George Brinley of Hartford, was a member and benefactor of this Society, and the son inherited his father's literary tastes. He was of active mind, a great reader, and of a kindly disposition which endeared him to his family and a large circle of friends. His health was never rugged, and his parents as well as the family physician doubted if the child would attain manhood. He was afflicted with "congenital cyanosis," and his death

resulted from apoplexy superinduced by organic heart trouble. He was born in Hartford, April 10, 1842, and lived there until 1881 when he removed to a farm in the more quiet town of Newington. His widow and six children survive him.

Mr. Brinley's grandfather, George Brinley, was a prominent merchant of Boston in the early part of the century. His name is kept alive in Worcester by the title "Brinley Row" which attaches to a portion of the real estate in which he invested in the central portion of the city, and is still owned by his descendants. George Brinley, son of the merchant, lived at Hartford, and was a member of this Society from October, 1846, until his death, May 16, 1875. He collected a remarkable library, particularly rich in the departments of American history and early American imprints. It was his intention that this library should be sold by auction, but that certain institutions and societies should have the opportunity of bidding in, free of cost, books to the aggregate value of \$25,000. This intention was not expressed in his will, and, his widow dying intestate soon after his own decease, there was no legal obligation to carry out his intentions. But a letter from his administrators, George P. Brinley and J. Hammond Trumbull, under date of February 24, 1879, addressed to the late President Salisbury, made known the gratifying fact that the children had honorably determined to carry out their parents' intention, and that this Society was authorized to bid off books to the total value of \$5,000, or one-fifth of the whole amount to be given away. A list of valuable books obtained at the first sale, which was held in New York, March 10, 1879, was arranged and printed, with the correspondence upon the subject and other matters, in a pamphlet prepared by our associate, Nathaniel Paine. At a second sale, in March, 1880, one hundred and ninety-two books and one hundred and fourteen pamphlets were secured.

Mr. George P. Brinley's membership in this Society dated from April 28, 1880.

George Henry Moore, LL.D., died at New York City, May 5, 1892.

He was born at Concord, N. H., son of Dr. Jacob B. Moore of that city, who afterward became librarian of the New York Historical Society. The family apparently removed to New York in 1840, and George, the eldest son, entered the University of the City of New York, from which he was graduated in 1842, and later, received from the institution his doctor's degree. While an undergraduate he served as assistant-librarian of the New York Historical Society, at first under our former associate, the learned Dr. George Folsom. Of his connection with that society, the Rev. Dr. Howard Crosby, in an article in the *Historical Magazine* for January, 1870, said—

"The Historical Society at that time was a quiet potentiality, a respectable egg, over which the influences of Washington Irving, George Bancroft and other such were brooding with faint hopes of a hatch. It was stowed away in the corner of the university buildings; and led a very dingy life. From the start, Mr. Moore, as assistant-librarian, became the chief workman in the concern,—George Folsom, and afterwards, George Gibbs, and then Mr. Moore's venerable father, who were librarians, merely acting as figureheads to the office, and allowing the genius and industry of the assistant to be untrammelled. A new life entered the old bones. Growth, order, thrift were the magical results of young Moore's energy. In 1849, the Historical Society did not know itself. It had become a power in the community. The best men of the city thronged its seances (where portly Janitor Smith dealt out the chocolate); papers of highest interest were read in its rooms, its patronage was sought by the historical explorers of the land; and rich men were honored by contributing to its resources. While all this was done, the cunning workman who had wrought the change remained in obscurity as the assistant-librarian. When Mr. Moore's father resigned his post as librarian, Doctor Edward Robinson, who always had an eye to the fitness of things, proposed the son as the

rightful successor. From that day to this, a period of twenty years, Mr. Moore, if we may be classical and not jocose, has been the Atlas of the Historical Society. To change the figure and conform the better to modern science, Mr. Moore has been the central sun of the Historical Society's system, around which president, vice-president and all other officers and members have most becomingly pursued their orbits. Whenever anyone thinks of the Historical Society, George H. Moore appears at once to his imagination. He is the Historical Society in its walking, talking avatar."

But a little more than two years after the above was written by Dr. Crosby, Dr. Moore transferred his allegiance to the great library which was founded by his personal friend, James Lenox, of which he continued to be the superintendent until his death. That the character and scope of the library were determined in accordance with his advice there can be little doubt.

The first years of Dr. Moore's connection with the Historical Society were full of hard work and hard study. The time came at last when he was to give the world some benefit from his study and his thoughts. His work on "The Treason of Charles Lee" appeared in 1860, and excited great interest. It was followed, two years later, by his "Historical Notes on the Employment of Negroes in the American Army of the Revolution." In 1866, he fired into the quiet commonwealth, a bombshell which he entitled, "Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts." Sixteen years later, he repeated the performance, labelling the second missile, "Notes on the History of Witchcraft in Massachusetts," and discharging it at the annual meeting of this Society. A battle ensued, in the domain of the Massachusetts Historical Society, where Mr. Abner C. Goodell, jr., of Salem, stood forth in opposition, and the final shot was fired by Dr. Moore. Dr. Moore contributed to this Society's Proceedings, in April, 1884, some "Notes on Tithing-Men and the Ballot in Massachusetts," and in April, 1888, "Bibliographical Notes on

Witchcraft in Massachusetts." Among his other works were "History of the Jurisprudence of New York," "Washington as an Angler," etc.

Few scholars have made so thorough a study of the early history of New England, and have made themselves so familiar with its details as did Dr. Moore.

Dr. Hale continued:—

In the death of Dr. Thomas Chase, whom we had elected to membership in October, 1887, we have lost an associate from whom the country had received large service, and from whom we had much to hope. Mr. Chase was born in Worcester June 16, 1827. He was the son of Anthony Chase, well known through the county of Worcester as a citizen of pure public spirit and integrity. His mother was Lydia Earle Chase, daughter of the inventor Pliny Earle, and sister of the distinguished alienist of that name who lately died at Northampton. It is remarked of Dr. Chase's boyhood that he set the type for his own boy paper, the "Evergreen," when he was at the High School of this city. He knew practically, as so many of us do, how good a school of English grammar is as good a printing-office as the *Massachusetts Spy*. Thomas Chase entered Harvard College as a sophomore in 1845 and graduated in 1848, a member of a class which has done honor to the university and the country. Among his teachers, all of whom he counted afterwards as his friends, are names as distinguished as those of Edward Everett, Henry W. Longfellow, Cornelius Conway Felton, Edward Tyrel Channing, Asa Gray, and James Walker. He graduated with high rank, among students of marked ability. He had always shown the aptness and fondness for philosophical studies which have marked his life, and it is remembered as an incident interesting in view of his later services, that he had read through the Greek Testament before he entered college.

For two years, he acted as tutor in the Cambridge High School. In 1850, when Professor Charles Beck gave up his active services in the chair of Latin at Cambridge, this accurate scholar asked Mr. Chase to take his classes until the return from Europe of Professor Lane, who had been appointed his successor. This was as high an honor as could possibly be conferred on a young graduate only twenty-three years old. Mr. Chase accepted the trust, and discharged its duties admirably. The college would have been glad to retain him in its service, but he preferred to go to Europe to continue his studies there. He was a year at Berlin, attending the courses of Boeckh, Frendenburg and Curtius, and spent another year in attending lectures in Paris, and afterward in Athens, where he gave a good deal of attention to modern Greek literature. He had an opportunity at this time also to visit Oxford and Cambridge.

On his return to America he accepted at once the chair of Philology and Classic Literature in Haverford College in Pennsylvania. At once he gave dignity and interest to the classical studies as conducted in that admirable institution. In the year 1875 he was chosen its president, and he remained in this office for ten years. In 1878, he was made a Doctor of Laws by Harvard University, and in 1880 he was made Doctor of Literature by Haverford College.

When the distinguished board of scholars was appointed which formed the American committee for the revision of the translation of the Bible, President Chase, almost of course, was made a member. In connection with his duties in it, he published one or two papers of permanent value on the English Testament.

To the regret of the students and governors of Haverford College, he resigned his charge in 1885. His health had somewhat failed, and with his family he took a long tour in Europe. Returning in 1887, he made his residence in Providence, R. I., where he has lived until his death, which took place on the fifth of this month.

He married in 1860 Alice Underhill Cromwell of New York, who died Jan. 20, 1882. They had five children, four sons and one daughter, who survive them.

“He brought to Haverford College much beside high scholarship and other attainments. He brought the ‘college feeling,’ and set up a lofty ideal. He planted a laudable ambition for scholarly attainment. He implanted a love of literature, and gave to the students an *esprit de corps* which was before unknown. Very much of Haverford’s excellence in succeeding years may be traced to the coming of Thomas Chase.” These words—taken from the history of the college—will be readily believed by his early and his later friends.

For the Council.

EDWARD E. HALE.
CHARLES A. CHASE.

THE RESULTS OF COLUMBUS'S DISCOVERY.

BY EDWARD E. HALE.

FOR the eightieth time our Society celebrates to-day the discovery of America as made by Columbus in 1492. Four centuries ago, on this morning, he landed on one of the most insignificant islands on the coast of this continent. So insignificant is the island that it cannot now be identified with certainty. But the event was too important for doubt or mistake, and is rightly taken as the date for the celebration of the discovery of this Hemisphere to Europe.

The enthusiasm with which the people of the United States are commemorating this event makes us look with a certain curiosity to see what interest attached to it in other times,—and also to ask again what real or substantial advantage the discovery of Columbus has brought to the world. It is to be observed that to-day, the real interest in the event appears chiefly in America, perhaps in the United States, and in Spain. The attention paid to it, in other places or regions, seems quite artificial. And it is worth note, I think, that a hundred years ago, any interest which the centennial anniversary brought with it was wholly American.

I can find mention of only two celebrations of the anniversary in 1792. One was on the twelfth of October, in the city of New York, by our sister Society of Tammany, or the "Columbian Order." A monumental obelisk was exhibited by the Society at their great wigwam, and an animated oration on the "great nautical hero" was deliv-

ered by Mr. John B. Johnson. He was an orator who seems to have been a faithful member of that Society. His name is not so much as mentioned by the faithful Allibone. But in our own library we have his "Eulogy on Washington," delivered at Albany in 1800. The Library of the Historical Society has his oration on "Union," delivered on the anniversary of the Tammany Society, May 12, 1794.¹

On the 23d of October, 1792, by a mistaken allowance of twelve days for the difference of style, the Massachusetts Historical Society celebrated the anniversary in Boston. Dr. Belknap delivered a scholarly and interesting address at Brattle-street Meeting-house²; Dr. Thacher, the minister of the Brattle-street Church, led the assembly in prayer, in language of which it is said that it was "peculiarly adapted to the occasion." An ode was sung, by a choir of men led by Mr. Rea, to music composed by him. As a Boston composer, Mr. George W. Chadwick, is at this moment leading the musical performances at Chicago, we Boston people are pleased with the coincidence, in which a Boston composer a hundred years ago was appointed, by the law of selection, to voice in music the enthusiasm of the world. Our associate, Dr. Samuel A. Green, has suggested almost with certainty that the author of the ode was Hon. James Sullivan, afterwards Governor of Massachusetts, who was a member of the Society and of the committee for this celebration.³

The ode is so good, that it is worth recurring to to-day. The method is the stately method of the time, but one sees worse poetry often.

¹ Also Mitchell's oration, 1795.

² It appears from the Belknap correspondence that the "Century Sermon," as he calls it, was printed and published the last week in November. The edition seems to have been 1500 copies. They cost 2s. 6d. each.

³ The descendants of Gov. Sullivan share the opinion of Dr. Green. E. E. H.

ODE.

For the 23d of October, 1792.

SUNG AFTER THE DISCOURSE, BY MR. REA, AND A SELECT CHOIR ACCOMPANIED BY THE ORGAN.

When formed by GOD'S creating hand,
This beauteous fabric first appeared;
Eternal Wisdom gave command,
All Nature with attention heard.

"Here, *Ocean*, roll thy swelling tide;
Here spread thy vast Atlantic main;
From European eyes to hide
That Western World, which bounds thy reign."

While *Ocean* kept his sacred charge,
And fair *COLUMBIA* lay concealed;
Through Europe, *Discord* roam'd at large,
Till *War* had crimson'd every field.

Black *Superstition*'s dismal night
Extinguished *Reason*'s golden ray;
And *Science*, driven from the light,
Beneath Monastic rubbish lay.

The *Crown* and *Mitre*, close ally'd,
Trampled whole nations to the dust;
While *FREEDOM*, wandering far and wide,
And pure *RELIGION*, quite were lost.

Then, guided by th' Almighty Hand,
COLUMBUS spread his daring sail;
Ocean receiv'd a new command.
And *Zephyrs* breath'd a gentle gale.

The Western World appear'd to view,
Her friendly arms extended wide;
Then *FREEDOM* o'er th' Atlantic flew,
With pure *RELIGION* by her side.

Tyrants with mortal hate pursued;
In vain their forces they employ;
In vain the Serpent pours his flood,*
Those heaven-born Exiles to destroy.

“ No weapon form'd against my flock
 Shall prosper,” saith th’ Almighty Lord;
 “ Their proudest threatenings thou shalt mock,
 For I will be thy shield and sword.

“ Sweet peace and heavenly truth shall shine
 On fair COLUMBIA’s happy ground;
 There FREEDOM and RELIGION join,
 And spread their influence all around.”

CHORUS.

Hail GREAT COLUMBIA! favor’d soil;
 Thy fields with plenty crown thy toil;
 Thy shore, the seat of growing wealth;
 Thy clime the source of balmy health.

From thee proceeds the virtuous plan
 To vindicate the *Rights of Man*.
 Thy fame shall spread from pole to pole,
 While everlasting ages roll.

There is never any need for apology for work of Dr. Belknap. He had the genuine historic interest, and brings careful good sense to bear wherever he is concerned.

Dr. Belknap calls the address his century sermon. It is, perhaps, an indication of the habit of the time that he should have done so, and should have selected a text for it; he may have been induced to do so by the simple circumstance that the discourse was delivered in a church. The title is: “ A Discourse intended to commemorate the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus; delivered at the request of the Historical Society in Massachusetts, on the 23d day of October, 1792, being the completion of the third century since that memorable event. To which are added four dissertations connected with various parts of the discourse, viz.: 1. On the circumnavigation of Africa by the ancients. 2. An examination of the pretensions of Martin Behaim to a discovery of America prior to that of Columbus, with a chronological detail of all the discoveries made in the 15th century. 3. On the question whether the honey-bee is a native of America? 4. On the colour of

the native Americans and the *recent* population of this continent. By Jeremy Belknap, D.D. Printed at the Apollo Press in Boston, by Belknap and Hall, State Street, MDCCXCII." And as a motto he gives the familiar passage from Seneca's "Medea" with regard to the Ultima Thule. The text of the sermon is from Daniel: "Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased."

After an opening on the effect of the evangelical mission of the time of the apostles, he says, There was no remarkable event which might be called another instance of the prophecy until the middle of the fifteenth century. He supposes Columbus to have been born in 1447, taking the date from Ferdinand's life,—a later date than most of us now assign to it. He follows the narrative of Columbus's life with care, but not without illustrations from his own wide reading. Of the first voyage he gives quite a full account; he abridges the others in the following words: "After this he made three other voyages to America, in one of which he discovered the continent, and in a succeeding voyage he endeavored to find a passage through it to India, but in vain; that desirable country he never saw." With an allusion to the misfortunes of Columbus's closing days, and to endeavors "not wanting, both formerly and lately, to rob him of the merit of originating this capital discovery," he says: "In the pages of impartial history he will always be celebrated as a man of genius and science; as a prudent, skilful, intrepid navigator, as having first reasoned out the probability, and then demonstrated the certainty of the existence of this continent."

More than half of the address is this personal reference to Columbus. He then takes a view of the connection of the discovery of America with the advancement of science. This view covers the science of geography, the science of navigation, the science of natural history, and comes out at much greater length on the contribution made by the discovery of America when it opens "an important page in the

history of man." "It is both amusing and instructive to see what imperfect ideas we had on these subjects, derived by tradition from our European ancestors. Like them we boasted of English liberty, as if Englishmen had some exclusive rights beyond any other people on the face of the earth"; and he goes on, in a broad and truly noble statement of what the American idea of liberty is. He closes in the spirit of these words: "From our example of a government founded on the principle of representation, excluding all family pretensions and titles of nobility, other nations are beginning to look into their natural and original rights as men, and to assert and maintain them against the claims of despotism." And after this very interesting statement of the value which the world may derive from the political principles of which even then he understood that America was the origin, Dr. Belknap goes on to the question, which interested men in his time so much, Whence was America peopled? He passes then to a bold invective against the commerce in slaves, which, as the Society will remember, he steadily and always opposed.

Another question which does not so much interest the student to-day is the question why the gospel was not brought by the apostles to America, as well as propagated in the several regions on the old continent. This gives him an opportunity to close his address in forms more analogous to those of the sermon of his time, in a view,—regarded at the time, apparently, as broad beyond what people expected of the pulpit,—as to what religion is, and what its propagation is. Of this admirable dissertation the pith may be stated in the following epigram: "If the truths of our holy religion are to be propagated among the savages, it will become us to consider whether we had not better first agree among ourselves what these truths are?" He is not hopeless as to this; he thinks that the time will come when "speculative truth will be reduced to practice, and men will

be led to a devout enjoyment of the only true God and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, evidenced by a careful obedience to the laws of virtue and righteousness. Then will 'the earth be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea.'

As an appendix to the discourse, Dr. Belknap prints his careful dissertation, not yet forgotten, on the circumnavigation of Africa by the ancients, and he thinks he proves the reality of the voyage of Necho. Modern critics are not so confident. But it is due to Belknap to say that, from the materials in his hand, the dissertation is thoroughly well wrought out. A second dissertation is on the pretensions of Martin Behaim, as a discoverer of America; in an appendix he publishes Toscanelli's letters to Columbus, showing that he saw the value of those critical documents. He then discusses, in opposition to Mr. Jefferson, the question whether the honey-bee is a native of America. A fourth dissertation is on the color of the native American, and recent emigration to this country. As a whole, the little volume was well worthy of the Massachusetts Historical Society and its distinguished founder.

So far as I can find, these two celebrations—one in New York on the 11th of October, and one at Boston on the 23d—make up the sum total of the formal recognition which the world of 1792 chose to make of the great discovery. Spain was in no position to exult about anything, or to celebrate anything. France had just dethroned her king, and was waiting before she cut off his head. England was in no mood to thank God or anyone else for the discovery of America. Only the people of the new-born nation of the United States had reason for thankfulness. In the modest way I have described, they expressed their gratitude.

I was in England this last summer, when they were celebrating the centennial of the poet Shelley's birth. He was born on the 4th of August, 1792, exactly three centuries

after Columbus sailed from Palos. The celebrations of his birthday this year, and of Columbus's sailing, were held on the same day. Now Shelley was pre-eminently a poet of New Worlds. Hardly a lyric in the language is finer than his description of what a Puritan would call the Kingdom of Heaven.

“ We will name it for the plan
Of the New World of Man.”

But I cannot find, in Shelley's rather free correspondence, that he ever knew, or in any way cared, that he was born on the centennial birthday of a continent.

But, though the world did not celebrate the anniversary of the discovery, it need not be said that it took a great interest in America at that very time. The great European wars of the century had been fought, in many instances, in disputes which grew out of colonial questions. The finances of Europe were in chronic disturbance since Cortez and Pizarro began to send home gold and silver. The slave trade of Europe was a trade which had an American market. And the recent independence of this nation had especially stimulated the interest in America which was felt in England, France, Spain, and Holland. In France, more perhaps than in England, this interest extended within the lines of philosophical research. The Economists of the Turgot and Dupont school were interested in the study of virgin fields and forests. Brissot de Warville's journey of 1788 was prompted by a wish to select a place fit for a colony of enthusiasts of his stamp. And he is but one such explorer among a hundred. The Encyclopedists and their friends, who liked to study the theories of government, were eagerly drawn to inquiry about a nation where the *Contrat Social* could be seen almost visibly. The early constitutions of our States were translated and read with eager enthusiasm, and commented on with care and in detail, which such papers would not now expect, I might say, anywhere. The best society of France heard the travellers'

stories of officers who had served in the allied army under Rochambeau. Such men as Rochambeau himself, Chastellux, and St. Simon, contributed anecdote or suggestion for the change of feudal institutions, such as they borrowed from experiences in a land which was curiously un-feudal. For all these reasons, French literature, fashion, speculation, and real philosophy had a great deal to say about America, and upon its influence on Europe.

There are three books in the wide range of such speculation and suggestion, which are specially devoted to the question whether America were of any use to mankind at large, and how the injuries it had inflicted were to be remedied. These are Raynal's *Philosophical History*, and Chastellux's and Genty's essays on the subject of America, for which Raynal offered a prize.

The Abbé Raynal¹ had in theory devoted his cumbrous

¹ The following memoranda from different dictionaries, may be of service to other inquirers.

E. E. H.

William Frederick Thomas Raynal was born in St. Genlez, Guienne, March, 1711; died in Paris, March 6, 1796. Educated in a Jesuit College, in 1747 he went to Paris, as assistant clergyman at St. Sulpice. His provincial accent was an insuperable obstacle to his success. Disappointed, he became the director of the *Mercure de France*. The first edition of the "Philosophical History" was in seven volumes, nominally at Amsterdam, but really at Paris also, in 1770 and 1771. It circulated freely for ten years without being noticed as objectionable. It is in the second and larger edition, that the attacks on religion and government are so open that the work was interdicted, on the 19th of December, 1779, when the Geneva edition appeared under his name, ten volumes octavo and five volumes quarto. In 1780 a warrant was issued for his arrest, and the Parliament ordered his book to be burned by the hand of the executioner, May, 1781. He had, however, in the same period, been cordially welcomed by Frederick the Great and in England. His nephew was a prisoner of war in England, and was released, as an act of courtesy to the philosopher. In 1781 he published "*Tableau et Révoltes des Colonies Anglaises dans l'Amérique septentrionale*," which was immediately translated into English. Its errors were pointed out in a pamphlet by Paine. For several years he wandered in foreign countries, but was finally permitted to return home. He was elected a deputy to the States General by the city of Marseilles, but declined on account of his age. His friend Malonet, who was chosen in his place, succeeded in having the sentence against the history reversed the next year. Raynal addressed to the president of the Assembly an eloquent letter, recanting his former opinions, and insisting upon the necessity of investing the king with more ample powers. There is a French edition of his book in eleven volumes, Paris, Kempt, 1783, and another dated 1798.

and many-authored treatise to this subject. Its first publication dates back to 1770. Various enlargements in new editions made it eventually a book of sixteen volumes. The latest edition seems to have been published in 1780. In the next year the Parliament of Paris ordered that it should be burned. The last volume professes to be wholly devoted to the inquiry whether America had been of more good or harm to mankind. It is, really, a rambling criticism on government as it existed in various lands. It seems to have been understood at the time that the book was a hotch-potch of twenty authors, and that any one who chose to be audacious might contribute. Diderot has the credit of large parts of it. Grimm says that Diderot gave two years to it, and wrote nearly one-third of it all. The New Biographical Dictionary names nine other authors as important, besides Diderot, and says that Raynal had only to arrange their contributions. But this is an over statement. Raynal was exiled for writing the book, and remained in Switzerland, Germany, England and Holland, until 1787, when his friends procured his recall.

It was then that he suggested to the Academy of Lyons a prize on the questions :

“Has the discovery of America been injurious or useful to mankind?”

“If injurious, how can the disadvantages be remedied?”

“If useful, how can the advantages be increased?”

In point of fact, the Academy of Lyons never gave the prize to any one. I have even doubted whether Raynal ever gave them the money for it, for he was an impecunious person, and died in a few years without any money at all. But the announcement of the subject excited great interest in America, in England, and in France, and by one or another writer of the time it is spoken of as if the real award had been made. Chastellux published an essay, which he pretended was written in competition for the prize; and much more important was the essay of Abbé

Genty, who says, however, specifically that he did not present his in competition.¹

Chastellux, with the affectation of preserving an anonymous character for an essay, says that it is by M. P., vice-consul at E., and pretends that E. is in America. But his name was at once made known. In the Grimm-Diderot correspondence he is announced as the author, as soon as the address is published. It is simply a rhetorical harangue on the advantages of commerce, and adds hardly anything to our knowledge of the real relations between the continents at that time. Commerce is in itself a good thing. America has created a great deal of commerce. Therefore America has been an advantage to the world. This is the simple argument.

More to the point than these two books is the study of the Abbé Genty, on the same subject. The title of his book is *L'Influence de la Découverte de l'Amérique sur le Bonheur du Genre-Humain*. The name of this poor Abbé seems to be now entirely forgotten. I find it in no biographical dictionary of our time, nor have I succeeded in making any list of his other works. He was, however, in 1788, when he wrote this book, at the head of the French censorship, and this would seem to imply a distinct recog-

¹Our associate, Mr. Charles C. Smith, calls my attention to two notes in the Belknap correspondence, as to Mr. Mather's essay, and what he hoped from it.

1. A letter from John Eliot to Jeremy Belknap, Feb. 1, 1782.—"Have you seen the late work of the Abbé Reynal? I will send it by the first opportunity. There is a question which I desire may employ your *cogitabundity*. Whether it has been an advantage or otherwise that the continent of America was discovered? A prize of 50 Louis d'ors for the best piece written upon the subject is offered by the Academy of Lyons. I know of no American so deserving of it as yourself. Dr. Mather tells me that he shall employ his pen upon the subject. He seems to be so assured of the reward that he has desired the Academy to give the guineas to five poor scholars. The prize will be adjudged in 1783."

2. Letter from Eliot to Belknap, June 17. —"I am much pleased with the MS. you put into my hands. It is very different from the disquisition of the learned Dr. M. which he has forwarded to the Academy of Lyons, styled '*An Detectio Regionum Americanorum sit noxia humano generi?*'"

Both letters are in 6 Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. IV.

nition of literary ability. He had, some years before, taken a prize for an essay on the influence of commerce, where the prize was awarded by one of the provincial academies of France. The book contains one or two scraps of rather curious information, which would be of value if he ever gave any authority.

The Abbé Genty thinks he establishes six points: First, that the discovery might have been a great advantage to the natives of America; second, that it was a great disadvantage; third, that it might have been a great advantage to the Spaniards; fourth, that it was a great disadvantage to them; fifth, that it might have been a great advantage to the world; sixth, that it was a great disadvantage. Here is one of his pessimistic pieces of eloquence in the conclusion of his essay:

“Such were the principal effects of the conquest of the New World on Europe in general. It was an inexhaustible source of calamity; it influenced more or less directly all the plagues which ravaged this part of the world. It prolonged the empire of destructive prejudices, and held back, for two centuries perhaps, knowledge which was truly useful to mankind. It should have softened the manners of Europeans and led them to beneficence. It did make them more cruel and pitiless. It should have raised the dignity of mankind, and taught him the grandeur of his origin. All that it did was to inflame the hearts of a few despots, and furnish them with new means for oppressing and degrading the human species. It should have enriched Europe. It did cover her with mourning, and in a deeper way made her a desert and wretched.”

It is interesting, however, and pathetic, to see that all the hope which he had came from us and our affairs. At the very end of his gloomy picture, in two or three pages, which come in like a ray of evening sunset under the dark clouds of a thunder storm, he says that the hope of the world is in the thirteen States just made independent:

“The independence of the Anglo-Americans is the event most likely to accelerate the revolution which is to renew

wars of a century. There was, besides, the black and the happiness of the world. In the bosom of the new world are the true treasures which are to enrich the world. America will become the asylum of the persecuted European, the oppressed Indian, the fugitive Negro. After the population of the United States has covered her own immense domains, she will give a new population to the plains which have been made desert by avarice. She will quicken by rivalry the other colonies of the New World. Her virtues will revive in the new hemisphere the laws of nature which have been for centuries forgotten. The Anglo-Americans may not conquer by arms as the Incas of Peru did, but they will be the rulers of all America at least by their example, by the ascendancy of wisdom and its benefits, and they will lead the other States of America to prosperity by the most powerful and most durable control."

He goes on to prophesy the end of gold and silver mining, because the Indians will refuse to work in the mines, the emancipation of the blacks and the end of the slave-trade, the end of European thirst for conquest, the true dignity of commerce, the end of war, and the conversion of the world to Christianity. All this is to spring from the virtues of three millions of Anglo-Americans, and he finds nothing else in America for it to spring from.

As to the Abbé Raynal's book, which eventually grew to be sixteen volumes, it is as useless a pile as anything can now be. As has been said, he permitted anybody to furnish a chapter or a paragraph, and put them in print, as they came to him, and nearly twenty authors are now named as sharing with him the credit or discredit of the volumes. There are statements, interesting and curious, hidden in with the mass. But they are wholly without historical value, because no authority is ever given for any statement. And as for Raynal himself, all he cared for was a certain smartness which might make the book entertaining or amusing.

You never know, on any page, whether you are going to read a piece of statistics, or the *motif* for an opera. He does

not seem himself much to care whether the information which he prints is drawn from the reports of statesmen, or whether he has picked it up in conversation at a dinner party, or perhaps has evolved it from his own interior consciousness. In a very extravagant passage in the first volume, he says: "Oh holy Truth, thou hast been the sole object of my search. If in after years this work should still be read, it is my wish that, while my readers perceive how much I am divested of passion and prejudice, they should be ignorant of the kingdom which gave me birth, of the government under which I lived, of the profession I followed, and of the religious faith I professed. It is my wish that they should only consider me as their fellow-citizen and their friend." Raynal need not have troubled himself much about posterity's reading his book. I am disposed to think that I am the only person who has read it in the last ten years. As to men's ignorance of him, time has done what he wished. It is but fair to say, however, that this garrulous book, and the personal characteristics of Raynal did much to interest men of letters in America. Mr. Morley has called attention to this result of its publication.

I have taken more time in speaking of these three books than they would be worth, but that they illustrate what was probably the general feeling of intelligent persons in Europe at the end of the last century. In considering that general opinion, we are to remember that to France and the rest of the Continent in those days, America meant chiefly the silver and gold, or in general, the trade of Mexico, the West Indies and South America. From the new-born United States they had their masts, their fish, their furs and their tobacco, articles of commerce hardly alluded to as these writers balance their accounts. We must remember also, that their colonies had involved these nations in exhausting wars. Nootka Sound, Falkland Islands, Canada, and the English colonies were responsible for the

hateful history of the slave-trade, which was beginning to disclose its horrors. Beginning with such an awful catalogue as the conquests of Cortez and the Pizarros gave, there was a history of blood, of cruelty and injustice, and in most regards of failure, for three hundred years. The compensation had been gold and silver.

But whom do gold and silver help? To you or me, to whom some one pays a gold eagle or a silver dollar, it is the sign of value with which we can buy what we want. But for that use, its value depends wholly on the supposition that there is about so much of these metals in the world, and that the miners will supply just what is lost in daily use. Find an immense new supply, however, such as Cortez and Pizarro found, and as poor Columbus did not find, and you simply lower the value of what you had before. For you can neither eat your silver and gold nor drink them. You cannot make clothes nor houses of them. Their use in the arts does not approach that of iron or lead, or zinc, or of the more common metals. All this was beginning to be known a hundred years ago. People saw that the galleons of Spain, bringing every year the millions on millions of the precious metals, merely lowered the value of the gold and silver which they had. Good for Spain, perhaps? That would have to be proved. To all the rest of the world of commerce this steady dilution of the currency of the world was an unmixed evil.

And for Spain, be the cause what it might, this was sure, that from the Emperor Charles the Fifth's period of glory, when Cortez gave him a new Spain, down to the reign of King Charles the Fourth, who did not know how he could build a ship, or buy a musket, and had not energy to do either, for three hundred years there had been one history of decline. Spain had been the first power in Europe; she was now the last. And all she had to show was America.

Given such observations as these, one does not wonder that such writers as I name came to their conclusions. To

say the truth, such conclusions had nothing to do with us or our affairs. For the future they have different hopes and prophecies. But as to the past, of three hundred years up to 1790, the verdict of all three is that, with only the most petty exceptions, the continent, and its people, and its history, and its productions, had steadily worked ill to mankind.¹ America furnished little or no cotton to Europe; at that time they did not care for our coffee; they say that they could have got their sugar elsewhere, and that the wars of the century for the sugar islands far outweighed all their sweetness and all other value. Of tobacco, oddly enough, no one of these three speaks, as having much to do with commerce or life. Indeed, there is one passage where the vanilla bean seems to be more important than indigo, tobacco, cotton, or sugar. The ignorance of all the writers as to the real commercial relations of the two worlds is perhaps the most extraordinary feature of all the books.²

Much is heard in all these discussions about the large population which had been drawn from Europe into America. America is spoken of as if she had to a certain extent, drained Europe. This impression is entirely fictitious. As is well-known to those who hear me, the

¹ The chief of the exceptions is Jesuit's bark, as they then called cinchona, from which we make quinine. All three refer to the benefits of this drug.

² I would gladly avoid reference to a very disagreeable subject, to which all of these writers refer, as if it were of considerable importance. They all suppose that the disease of Syphilis was an American disease, imported into Europe from the West Indies, and not known before. On this heavy charge, I am permitted by high medical authority to say, that the disease certainly belonged to the very earliest times, and is possibly of an origin among the apes, before the appearance of men upon the planet. "All ancient history is full of it. The Leprosy of the Bible represented four diseases, one of which was Syphilis. Owing to circumstances, it has been, as it is now, epidemic at certain periods of history, and nations have always been ready to saddle it upon their neighbors. But increasing knowledge shows that these stories have been born of ignorance. The *sors et origo mali* is entirely unknown. The disease dates back to the Serpent in Eden, or it may have been Lilith. The oldest collections of bones show signs of probable Syphilis." I copy these words from a note from Dr. Edward Wigglesworth, who is so kind as to answer my inquiries on the subject.

emigration to New England before 1643 did not exceed 21,200.¹ At no time afterwards was there any immigration so considerable as to amount to an appreciable fraction of one per cent. of the population of Europe. To this moment, the population of Mexico, Peru, Chili, Brazil or the Argentine Republic, does not consist in any large proportion of persons of Spanish or Portuguese blood. All that line of remark may be fairly set out of the way, in any consideration of the advantages or disadvantages of America in the civilization of the world.

The writer of this paper is glad to leave to our distinguished associate, the historian of the economic arts of New England, a full study of the commercial relations between the two hemispheres, as they followed on the discovery of Columbus. It is enough for our present purpose to observe that the French writers, misled, as all careless observers are, by the glamour of precious metals, do not at all apprehend the worth, to the world or to the owners, of shiploads of masts, barrel staves, tobacco, salt fish, furs, whale oil and potash, and similar unsavory and unsentimental articles. But the annual value of these, to those who handled them at the time when our revolution broke out, was far greater than that of the annual Spanish fleet of galleons, loaded with gold and silver. The export of tobacco alone, made a trade in which North and South America, the West Indies and Mexico all shared, varying for each region according to the particular colonial policy of the mother-country, or what was called such. It is curious now to observe the comparative indifference with which the three Frenchmen whom I have cited pass it by. But men of more practice in affairs than they, were more observant. There is a very instructive and interesting correspondence which Lafayette and Jefferson, on one side, maintained with the French foreign ministers on the other, between

¹ These are Johnson's figures in the *Wonder-Working Providence*. After that time, he said, more returned to England than came from England.

1783 and 1789, as to the tobacco trade between America and France. People who have fallen into the habit of speaking contemptuously of Lafayette, ought to read the masterly state papers in which he addresses himself to the business of promoting direct trade between America, which he is so fond of calling his own country, and France. The burden of the proposals which Lafayette and Jefferson make to the government of France, is that tobacco shall no longer be a royal monopoly, but shall be purchasable by any merchant, and the government shall itself charge and collect an import duty upon it. They show how, under such regulations, the tobacco of almost all Europe could and would pass through the ports of France. They seem to show that the French revenue would be very largely increased by such a plan, if the government itself received the revenue, without the intervention of the Farmers General.

In some of the last of Mr. Jefferson's letters, he points out that the very deficiency of revenue, which compelled the King to call together the States General in 1787, would be met by the duties which he suggested on American tobacco. But, alas for Louis XVI., the Treasury was at that time humbled before the Farmers General. The government was too much in need of their convenient advances at certain times, to be able to break up their monopoly, and to dispense with their intervention. The States General were summoned and the Revolution followed.

The export of ships had been for a great part of the century an important factor in New England commerce, and from the beginning of the 18th century, the export of naval stores and spars. Lord Bellomont, writing home in 1699 and 1700, expresses his surprise that so little American timber is used in the English dock-yards, and, not long after, the systematic trade took large proportions. I could wish that this subject might be carefully studied by an expert. I think it will prove, that in all the naval

battles between England on the one side, and France, Spain and the United States on the other, from 1777 to 1783, the masts and spars of all the vessels, of all the nations, were in large measure the growth of New Hampshire, of Vermont, then unnamed, and of the province of Maine. The ship of the line, *America*, which Congress gave to Louis XVI. in 1782, was not the first war ship of that name built in New Hampshire. The frigate *America* had been built in New Hampshire for the English navy, nearly fifty years before. Her name remained in the English service, so that when, at Toulon, this ship of the line "l'Amérique" was captured by the English, they changed her name to "l'Impetueux." With this name she became the favorite flagship of Lord Exmouth.

So far as the world of politics, or the study of the history of two hundred years went, the speculative writers could urge and they did urge the evils of the wars between the European powers, which either started from American complications, like the war for the valley of the Ohio, or were embittered and perhaps prolonged by contests in American waters, or sometimes on American soil. The speculative writers do not very frankly acknowledge that the European nations would have been at war all the same, had there never been any Columbus or any America. But they pass to the disadvantage of the new hemisphere, all the bloodshed, and, much more, all the debt which sprang from conquests or defeats which bore an American name.

If then, a hundred years ago, some of the shrewdest people in Europe considered it as an open question whether America had or had not brought more of evil than good to civilization, they had good grounds for their indecision. This, at least, is certain; that the great physical advantages which America now contributes to the world were then nearly unknown.

The American colonies occasionally sent cargoes of wheat or other breadstuffs to Europe, but these supplies

were insignificant compared with the immense supplies which we forward now with every year. So little cotton was grown in the United States that, as is well known, at the time of Jay's Treaty, neither he nor the English negotiators knew that any cotton could be exported from the Southern States to England. That cotton was raised for home use is well known, and Brissot, in his travels in 1788, speaks of seeing it as far north as Maryland and even Pennsylvania. So little cotton was manufactured, in any part of the world, except India, that cotton was in no sort a matter of importance in the world's commerce.

We, who are assembled here, read such speculations with special interest and curiosity, because they show that the immense advantages which the world now is willing to admit that it receives from the great discovery, are advantages which began with the birth of the nation called the United States. Each one of the three writers, more or less vaguely, and with a certain optimistic habit which belonged to the *philosophe* of France, refers as to a possibility, to the use which the United States may serve. The passage from Genty, which I have cited, is indeed the most remarkable of these timid prophecies. In point of fact, the United States has been the teacher of Europe, which has borrowed from her even the methods of constitutional government. She has received from Europe, and is receiving, immense numbers of people, for whom Europe seems to have no use at home, who sooner or later become useful citizens, or the fathers and mothers of useful citizens. The United States supplies Europe with almost all the material for her cotton mills, which have now so much to do with the clothing of Europe and of the world. It is perhaps fair to say that the United States is more and more a factor in international government, not so much by interference in the affairs of Europe, as because she is a constant object lesson suggesting what might be.

America was also to teach to Europe the great lesson, not

yet wholly learned, that land is as worthless as water, unless it have men upon it. To a beggarly adventurer in Europe, the idea that he could have as much land as a Baron or Landgrave had was very attractive, and, for centuries, sovereigns supposed they gave something when to court favorites they gave land. It was reserved for America to invent the word "Land-poor," and to teach the world what it meant.¹

Such states as Massachusetts Bay, such proprietors as Penn, soon found out that if they could induce men to live on the land they held by whatever grant, those lands assumed a value. "If not, not." And the value was greater according to the grade of the men and women. If the men brought their women with them, and burned their ships behind them, and knew every morning that they must do something before night for the glory of God; given such settlers as these, and your land is valuable. Given on the other hand the lazy sweepings of the streets of Seville, looking for gold wherever the earth is turned, and your land is not worth the parchment on which your title is written. In the course of history it has proved that America was to bless mankind by teaching the world new lessons, as to the worth of men; shall I say as to the manufacture of men and women? She has had to show the value of a system of open promotion. She had to show how a nation can offer the best education to every child born within its borders. She had to show what is the physical product of a nation, which permits without restriction, every form of industry not actually injurious to the common weal.

For these lessons it does not appear that the empire of the Montezumas or of the Incas has furnished more than some curious illustrations. That these lessons might be

¹ When I was acting as President of the New England Aid Company in 1866, we had occasion to send a few thousand emigrants into Florida. Hearing of this, the parties who owned a considerable part of that State, offered it to us at a very low price, so low that I observed it was less than De Soto in fact paid to obtain from the Emperor Charles the grant of the same property. E. E. H.

truly taught, it was necessary rather that there should be an empty land, than a land struggling in the shackles of any half-civilization. This empty land was found in North America. At the time when the Pilgrims landed, there were not so many people in New England as live in one ward of the city which is my own home. When La Salle sailed down the Mississippi River, weeks passed without his seeing a single Indian, and the desolateness of the land filled his companions with terror. When Coronado left the Seven Cities in 1541, he and his troop of brave cavaliers rode east for months, till they struck either the Missouri or the Mississippi—we do not know which—and they returned to the point from which they started without having seen a single human being except themselves. The desolation of those empty plains and prairies was a terror to them. At that period, as I suppose, the whole population of what we now call the United States was not 300,000 persons, not so many as were living in the city of London at that time. This part of America was therefore an empty land.¹

Here was the opportunity, then, for trying the experiments of the new Christian order, which was so soon to break upon the world; trying experiments which had been impossible, and were impossible in Europe, nay, which have been impossible in Europe to this hour. The geologists say that this continent itself contains the oldest ridge of land which looked up through hissing waters to a clouded sky, when the earth rose above the sea. But all the same, to this old hemisphere was it given to try the religious, political and social experiment of a new order, of a New World.

Europe now owes to America every day no small portion of her daily bread. She owes to America much of the material of her clothing, much of the silver and gold which are the basis of her currency. She does her best to find a substitute for the sugar of America, but cannot keep it

¹ An etymology of the name of Canada, not generally approved, refers it to some Spanish explorer, who cried: "Aca nada!" "Nothing here."

from her markets. She no longer waits, as in Gosnold's time, for cargoes of sassafras, but her financiers would be aghast, and her men of leisure and of work would be wretched, without their American tobacco. In the arts of destruction, she finds she can use no copper but that of America in her cartridges used in weapons of precision. In her fevers she still seeks the respite given by cinchona. And for her mackintoshes she relies on Para and Pernambuco for her India-rubber.

But these are not the gifts for which Europe has to be truly grateful to America. The experiments of freedom which have wakened every nation of Europe, were impossible there but for their success in America. Constitutional government, as we understand it to-day, secured by written constitutions, is an American invention. So is freedom of religion. And such is the invention, greatest of all, which the United States of Europe have yet to try, which the United States of America has wrought out successfully. It is the establishment of a Permanent Tribunal, of dignity and power sufficient to adjust the differences of States and of nations, and to silence their war-cries.

Give me white paper!

This which you use is black and rough with smears
Of sweat and grime and fraud and blood and tears,
Crossed with the story of men's sins and fears,
Of battle and of famine all these years

When all God's children have forgot their birth,
And drudged and fought and died like beasts of earth.

Give me white paper!

One storm-trained seaman listened to the word;
What no man saw he saw; He heard what no man heard;

In answer he compelled the sea

To eager man to tell

The secret she had kept so well.

Left blood and guilt and tyranny behind,

Sailing still west the hidden shore to find;

For all mankind that unstained scroll unfurled,

Where God might write anew the story of the World.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

THE Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society here-with submits his semi-annual report of receipts and disbursements for the six months ending October 1, 1892.

By direction of the Finance Committee there has been carried to each fund, from the income of the investments for the past six months, three per cent. on the amount of the several funds April 1, 1892.

A detailed statement of the investments is given as a part of this report, showing the par and market value of the various stocks and bonds.

The reserved "Income Fund" now amounts to \$1,444.56 and the "Premium Account" to \$984.46, \$307.50 having been added from the sale of \$2,000 in Railroad Bonds.

The total of the investments and cash on hand October 1, 1892, was \$117,484.55, an increase of \$760.97 over the total of six months ago. It is divided among the several funds as follows :

The Librarian's and General Fund,.....	\$39,397.03
The Collection and Research Fund,.....	18,928.82
The Bookbinding Fund,	6,441.02
The Publishing Fund,.....	23,658.43
The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund,.....	7,133.40
The Lincoln Legacy Fund,.....	3,402.45
The Benj F. Thomas Local History Fund,.....	1,032.67
The Salisbury Building Fund,.....	4,790.83
The Alden Fund,.....	1,185.63
The Tenney Fund,.....	5,000.00
The Haven Fund,.....	1,140.26
The George Chandler Fund,.....	588.55
The Francis H. Dewey Fund,.....	2,400.94
Premium Account,	984.46
Income Account,.....	1,444.56
	<hr/>
	\$117,484.55

The cash on hand, included in the following statement, is \$2,286.28.

The detailed statement of the receipts and disbursements for the past six months, ending October 1, 1892, is as follows:

DR.

1892.	April 1.	Balance of cash as per last report,.....	\$6,025.31
"	Oct. 1.	Received for interest to date,.....	3,070.87
"	"	Received for annual assessments,.....	205.00
"	"	Received for life assessments,.....	100.00
"	"	Received from sale of books and pamphlets,.....	200.57
"	"	Bonds sold and Mortgage Note paid,.....	2,500.00
"	"	Premiums on Bonds sold,.....	307.50
			<hr/>
			\$12,409.35

CR.

By salaries to October 1, 1892,.....	\$1,756.66
Expense on account of publication,.....	382.77
Books purchased,.....	178.55
For binding,.....	259.45
Incidental expenses,.....	202.03
For Coal,.....	343.51
Invested in Mortgage Notes,.....	7,000.00
	<hr/>
Balance in cash October 1, 1892,.....	\$10,122.97
	<hr/>
	2,286.28
	<hr/>
	\$12,409.35

CONDITION OF THE SEVERAL FUNDS.

The Librarian's and General Fund.

Balance of Fund, April 1, 1892,.....	\$39,496.43
Income to October 1, 1892,.....	1,191.14
For two life memberships,.....	100.00
Transferred from Tenney Fund,.....	150.00
	<hr/>
	\$40,937.57
Paid for salaries,.....	\$1,040.00
Incidental expenses,.....	157.03
For Coal,.....	343.51
	<hr/>
	\$1,540.54
1892, October 1. Amount of Fund,.....	\$39,397.03

The Collection and Research Fund.

Balance April 1, 1892,	\$18,852.02
Income to October 1, 1892,.....	684.18
	<hr/>
	\$19,536.15
Expenditure from the Fund for salaries and incidentals,	607.83
	<hr/>
1892, October 1. Amount of Fund,	\$18,928.82

The Bookbinding Fund.

Balance April 1, 1892,	\$6,587.66
Income to October 1, 1892,.....	186.14
	<hr/>
	\$6,723.80
Paid for binding and incidental expenses,	292.78
	<hr/>
1892, October 1. Amount of Fund,	\$6,441.02

The Publishing Fund.

Balance April 1, 1892,	\$23,284.91
Income to October 1, 1892,	696.54
Publications sold,.....	57.75
	<hr/>
	\$24,041.20
Paid on account of publication,	882.77
	<hr/>
Balance October 1, 1892,.....	\$23,658.43

The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund.

Balance April 1, 1892,	\$6,954.26
Income to October 1, 1892,	206.62
	<hr/>
	\$7,162.90
Paid for books,.....	29.50
	<hr/>
Balance October 1, 1892,	\$7,133.40

The Lincoln Legacy Fund.

Balance April 1, 1892,	\$3,303.35
Income to October 1, 1892	99.10
	<hr/>

Balance October 1, 1892,

\$3,402.45

The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund.

Balance April 1, 1892,	\$1,082.50
Income to October 1, 1892,	30.97
	<hr/>
	\$1,068.47
Paid for books,.....	30.80
	<hr/>
Balance October 1, 1892,	\$1,038.67

The Salisbury Building Fund.

Balance April 1, 1892,	\$4,656.64
Income to October 1, 1892,	129.69
Balance October 1, 1892,	\$4,786.33

The Alden Fund.

Balance April 1, 1892,	\$1,248.19
Income to October 1, 1892,	37.44
	<hr/>
	\$1,285.63
Paid on account of catalogue,	100.00
	<hr/>
Balance October 1, 1892,	\$1,185.63

The Tenney Fund.

Balance April 1, 1892,	\$5,000.00
Income to October 1, 1892,	150.00
	<hr/>
	\$5,150.00
Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund,	150.00
	<hr/>
Balance October 1, 1892,	\$5,000.00

The Haven Fund.

Balance April 1, 1892,	\$1,206.86
Income to October 1, 1892,	36.20
	<hr/>
	\$1,243.06
Paid for books,	102.80
	<hr/>
Balance October 1, 1892,	\$1,140.26

The George Chandler Fund.

Balance April 1, 1892,	\$539.00
Income to October 1, 1892,	18.00
Sale of "Chandler Family"	18.00
	<hr/>
	\$575.00
Paid for books,	36.45
	<hr/>
Balance October 1, 1892,	\$538.55

The Francis H. Dorcey Fund.

Balance April 1, 1892,	\$2,331.01
Income to October 1, 1892,	69.93
	<hr/>
Balance October 1, 1892,	\$2,400.94
Total of the thirteen funds,	<hr/>
Balance to the credit of Premium Account,	\$115,053.53
Balance to the credit of Income Account,	954.46
	<hr/>
October 1, 1892, total,	1,444.56
	<hr/>
	\$117,454.55

STATEMENT OF THE INVESTMENTS.

No. of Shares.	STOCKS.	Par Value.	Market Value.
6	Central National Bank, Worcester.....	\$ 600.00	894.00
22	City National Bank, Worcester.....	2,200.00	3,256.00
10	Citizens National Bank, Worcester.....	1,000.00	1,350.00
4	Boston National Bank.....	400.00	440.00
6	Fitchburg National Bank.....	600.00	900.00
5	Massachusetts National Bank, Boston.....	500.00	505.00
32	National Bank of Commerce, Boston.....	8,200.00	4,192.00
6	National Bank of North America, Boston.....	600.00	756.00
5	North National Bank, Boston.....	500.00	600.00
24	Quinsigamond National Bank, Worcester.....	2,400.00	2,952.00
46	Shawmut National Bank, Boston.....	4,600.00	5,796.00
33	Webster National Bank, Boston.....	3,300.00	3,201.00
31	Worcester National Bank.....	8,100.00	4,650.00
Total of Bank Stock,.....		\$23,000.00	\$29,582.00
30	Northern (N. H.) R. R. Co.....	\$3,000.00	\$4,650.00
5	Worcester Gas Light Co.....	500.00	775.00

BONDS.

Central Pacific R. R. Bonds.....	5,000.00	5,350.00
Kansas City, Fort Scott & Gulf R. R.....	4,300.00	4,816.00
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R. Co.....	3,000.00	2,630.00
Chicago & Eastern Illinois R. R. 5 per cent.....	5,000.00	5,000.00
Quincy Water Bonds.....	6,000.00	6,000.00
Notes secured by mortgage of real estate.....	65,050.00	65,050.00
Deposited in Worcester savings banks.....	348.27	348.27
Cash in National Bank on interest.....	2,286.28	2,286.28
\$117,484.55		\$126,487.55

WORCESTER, Mass., October 1, 1892.

Respectfully submitted,

NATH'L PAINE,

Treasurer.

The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, hereby certify that we have examined the report of the Treasurer, made up to October 1, 1892, and find the same to be correct and properly vouched; that the securities held by him are as stated, and that the balance of cash, as stated to be on hand, is satisfactorily accounted for.

WM. A. SMITH.
A. G. BULLOCK.

October 15, 1892.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

DURING the six months last past our library work has been marked by quiet earnestness and by the absence of friction. This has been due in part to my faithful assistants, and in part to a wise library committee. The revised rules and regulations, adopted last April by the Council and the library committee for the government of the library, have recently been printed with the Society's By-laws of 1881 as amended, and to them I call your careful attention. With the added power therein given to the librarian is coupled added responsibility.

The annual report of the American Historical Association, received the past month, contains Mr. A. P. C. Griffin's valuable Bibliography of the Historical Societies of the United States. Part 1 contains the names of reports and other publications of National Associations, and part 2 those of State Historical Societies. This Society is, perhaps inadvertently, placed in the State list, under Worcester, Massachusetts. The error will doubtless be corrected in future issues, but it seems to your librarian that it should again remind us constantly to discountenance the use of the expression Antiquarian Society of Worcester, and to encourage by all means the use of our corporate name, American Antiquarian Society. This early and representative Society may well claim that it is not only American in name but national in character. It has been said—and there is a certain amount of truth in the saying—that "the enlistment of members in all parts of the Union does not make a society national when its government is purely local." It seems to me that we may with becoming modesty

make the historic claim that we were not born into the State class, neither have we at any time entered it.

I note the fact that in an article upon Worcester Libraries, which appeared in the *Worcester Commercial and Board of Trade Bulletin* for July last, this society and its library were referred to at some length. An excellent view of the upper hall in the Salisbury annex appeared in connection therewith. Such references to the Society's desire and ability to serve the students of American history cannot be too widely spread, and for them we are duly grateful.

The close packing which has been found necessary in our newspaper room has kept the volumes in good form. But the overcrowded condition of this department has recently required the transfer of the remainder of our foreign files and a few others, to the space under the tables in the upper main hall. We have thus been able to obtain at least temporary relief. Improved ventilation of the main-hall basement has been secured by the removal of the brick surroundings of our Wheeler furnace and by the addition of a heavy wire-screen door to the north-cellar entrance.

For many years, the remainders of editions of the publications of the Worcester County Free Institute of Industrial Science—now the Worcester Polytechnic Institute—were deposited with us for safety and for careful distribution. While we have received some returns by way of exchange, it has seemed wise to transfer all this material to the Institute in its enlarged quarters. This was accordingly done last June, with the approval of the officers of both institutions. Space in the lower main hall has also been secured by a transfer to the State library, of our duplicate Massachusetts State documents, to be redistributed as indicated in my last report. Thus shelf-room has been provided for our invaluable laws, journals and other public documents of Massachusetts, which for the past fifteen years have occupied alcove P. This will allow the use of both alcoves

P and Q of the Salisbury Annex for our rapidly increasing collection of the doings of learned societies.

It has been my privilege to aid, not only in an advisory way but by the sale of some of our duplicates, a recent effort to collect the imprints of one of our leading New England cities. Such efforts wisely made should, it seems to me, be everywhere encouraged, to the end that their value as collections may prevent their dispersion. The increasing disposition to make special collections and to keep them together, is one of the hopeful signs of the times. The value and importance of our duplicate room in this connection need only to be mentioned.

Referring to your librarian's report of last October, Mr. Charles Henry Hart of Philadelphia, writes as follows: "I am also much struck with what you say about a wonderfully life-like wax medallion of Governor James Sullivan, now the property of the American Antiquarian Society. You also speak of similar work by C. Rauschner in 1810. I have two exquisite medallions, colored to life, of my great-grandmother and great-grandfather, done by Rauschner in Philadelphia in 1811. Did he work in Massachusetts, and can you tell me anything of him, as I have never been able to learn anything farther than his name as the artist of my two medallions?" I submit this brief quotation with the hope of obtaining from members or other correspondents, further light upon the subject.

At our October meeting in 1888, Professor Henry W. Haynes read an interesting paper upon the so-called "Alabama Stone" which for nearly seventy years has been in the possession of this Society. It seems desirable to preserve a few paragraphs by an Alabama antiquary, relating thereto. They are taken from a letter addressed to your librarian, August 11, 1892, by Mr. James W. A. Wright, formerly president of the Alabama Normal College for Girls and now principal of the Livingston Military School, who has written and lectured upon De Soto's famous march. He

says: "I have examined with much interest the article by Professor Henry W. Haynes. I can but agree with him that everything points to the fact that the Alabama Stone was left where it was found by Mr. Thomas Scales while clearing his land, viz. six miles from Tuscaloosa, down Warrior river (originally Tuscaloosa river, meaning in Choctaw 'Black Warrior') by De Soto's expedition. I think the clearly-cut 1232 cannot refer to a date. I have studied the matter very carefully and am convinced that De Soto crossed the Warrior river, not near Erie as Colonel Pickett, Judge Meek and others have conjectured, but just above the Indian town of Cabusto, marked now by the noted and fine Carthage, or Prince mounds. There De Soto fought his second severe battle, on what is now Alabama soil. The Indians (said by a Spanish writer to have been 8,000 warriors) disputed De Soto's passage there some two or three weeks, De Soto meanwhile having two boats built '1½ leagues above Cabusto and one league out from river on El Monte' or some high hills found there on the east side of Warrior river not far below Tuscaloosa. The Indians fought his men desperately when they crossed about day-break, but all were safely across by sunset. De Soto's men were then in danger. I hold that they hastily strengthened their camp on the west side by that earth-work extending from river to creek, which was the quickest way to protect a temporary camp. Then some Spanish soldiers roughly cut the *Hispan et Ind Rey*, and cut 1232 to indicate the number of leagues they estimated they had marched from Tampa Bay to that point — for those figures correspond with their estimate of their march until then. There is much fine sandstone at the 'Falls' above Tuscaloosa, whence the Alabama stone may have come. I think it likely that while De Soto was having his two boats built, he sent a strong party up to the hill north of Tuscaloosa to look for gold, as usual. One or two old crucibles were found up there in the early settlements."

Ex-President Thomas Jefferson of Monticello, Va., who was an early member of this Society, established, as is well known, the University of Virginia at Charlottesville in 1819 and was immediately thereafter elected its first Rector. Upon a recent visit there with the American Library Association, attention was called to a slight error in the inscription upon its second bell, which it may be well to correct in print. The following letter will explain:

LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

June 14, 1892.

MR. EDMUND M. BARTON,

My dear sir:

Your letter of June 8 would have been attended to sooner but I had some difficulty in finding where the old University bell had been put, and the inscription on the new one would have been insufficient. I send you both inscriptions.

That on the old bell reads—

“Founded for the University of Virginia.
Cast by G. H. Holbrook,
Medway, Mass. 1827.”

The new bell—

“Cast by the
McShane Bell Foundry
Baltimore, Md. 1886
For the University of Virginia to
replace bell cast by
G. H. Holbrook, Midway, Mass. 1827.”

The mistake was evidently made by the person copying the old inscription. I do not know who is responsible.

Very truly yours,

F. W. PAGE, Librarian.

While to a New Englander this seems a curious blunder, it is worthy of remark that a recent United States Official Postal Guide contains twenty-eight Midways and but four Medways.

A manuscript recently received so vividly suggests the

drain which had been made upon the able-bodied war material of Massachusetts during the latter part of the War of the Revolution, that I venture to submit a few items therefrom. It is entitled "Return of Recruits Unfit for Service sent by the State of Massachusetts since January, 1781," and following are some of the disabilities mentioned: "Blind; Boys not fit to carry a musket; Cannot speak nor understand any language; Children unable to bear the fatigue of military life; Two children unable to carry muskets on a march; Three children unfit for soldiers, Ideot, blind and debilitated; Deaf, old and decrepid; Infirm and void of understanding; Neither speaks nor understands any language; Too small to bear the weight of a musket; Lunatic." A foot-note states that the whole amount of bounty paid was "17340 $\frac{1}{2}$ dollars in specie, 6000 Continental Dollars, 41 Cows & 9 Calves."

I wish to recommend, for forwarding valuable pamphlets, a style of envelope in one of which a brochure has just reached us in perfect order. Across it in large type is printed the following legend: "Not to be folded or doubled." I also note, as showing the practical spirit of the day, that upon the wrapper of the St. Louis Public Library report of 1892 appears the statement that "This Report contains matter of interest to every citizen of St. Louis." In like manner, upon the covers of the material mailed from Chicago by the Department of Publicity of the World's Columbian Exposition, appears "No Delay." But it has remained for Waco in Texas to report the most striking innovation in a book the fair title-page of which announces not only that the work was there printed and bound for the author in the year of our Lord 1891, but also, in sturdy capitals, that it is "Thoroughly Indexed." Possibly the day will come when such an entry may be required by law in all important books published from Maine to Texas; at least for its coming, librarians "will ever pray."

I cannot allow this occasion to pass without at least brief reference to the death at Northampton, Mass., May 17, 1892, in his eighty-third year, of Pliny Earle, M.D., a warm friend and benefactor, though not a member, of this Society. From time to time mention has been made of the important department of literature relating to insanity which he here established. His occasional presence at the Library was a benediction, and the memorial of his abundant and thoughtful kindness as well as scholarship, will remain in the Salisbury Annex to serve the present and future generations. It has been truly said of Dr. Earle that "he was one of the most famous and progressive doctors of insanity in the world."

While our collection of English county histories contains some of the rare ones, it should be made much more complete, especially in the interest of our workers in the department of genealogy. Second editions would perhaps better serve our purpose, inasmuch as they often contain new material as well as important corrections, and can be more readily and more reasonably secured.

Several of our many Columbus heads have been photographed for the Latin-American Department of the Columbian Exposition. Among those thus reproduced, are the small engraving received from Mons. Jomard in 1845, and referred to by Rev. Dr. Hale at our April meeting in 1891 as probably "an indifferent Philip the Third"; the Parmigiano presented by Hon. Ira M. Barton in 1853, now over the Davis Spanish-American Alcove; and, perhaps best of all, the fine Salviati Venetian mosaic, so full of the spirited expression which we should expect to find in the navigator and explorer, brought us by Hon. Edward L. Davis on his return from Europe in 1878. The subject of Columbus portraits, which is most attractive, has recently been quite exhaustively treated in the *Cosmopolitan* by Mr. William E. Curtis. It is interesting to note the fact that in his "Classification of the Latin-American Department of the

World's Columbian Exposition 1893" Mr. Curtis says "It is confidently asserted that there are no genuine portraits of Columbus, but a collection of pictures purporting to be such should be made." Our associate, Dr. William F. Poole, takes nearly the same view in his article in *The Dial* of last April. He says, "Of the alleged portraits of Columbus, none have any claim to authenticity. There is no evidence that they were the result of a sitting, or even of an acquaintance. Dr. Winsor gives facsimiles of seven, which have little or no resemblance to each other. It cannot be shown that any of them were taken in his lifetime, except the figure of St. Christopher, in colors, on the *Mappe Monde* of his pilot, Juan de la Cosa, made in 1500. It is supposed—but there is no proof for the assertion—that, in the lineaments of the Saint, La Cosa depicted the features of his Admiral." The fact may here be noted that James Davie Butler, LL.D., a member of this Society since 1854, read before the State Historical Society of Wisconsin—see their Collections, Vol. IX., 1880-82, pp. 76-96—an important paper upon Columbus portraits, which was afterwards reprinted.

For the increase of our library treasures by gifts from April 15 to October 15, we are indebted to three hundred and fourteen sources—the largest number ever reported—viz.: to forty-four members—twenty-seven of whom have sent results of their own literary labors—one hundred and fifty-four persons not members, and one hundred and sixteen societies and institutions. We have received therefrom nine hundred and twenty-three books, fifty-seven hundred and fifty-nine pamphlets, one hundred and seventy-two volumes of unbound newspapers, sixteen maps, fourteen photographs, eleven heliotypes, three bank-notes and one broadside. By exchange: thirty-six books, twenty-three pamphlets, and one powder-horn; and from the bindery: one hundred and eleven volumes of newspapers, and one hundred and seventy-two volumes of magazines, making

the total accessions eleven hundred and thirty-one books, fifty-seven hundred and eighty-two pamphlets, one hundred and eleven bound and one hundred and seventy-two volumes of unbound newspapers, etc.

A very few especially suggestive references follow. Our President's gift includes a copy of the "Life and Times of Cotton Mather, D.D., by Rev. Abijah P. Marvin." In the preparation of this work the Society's great collections of Mather manuscripts, Mather publications and Mather libraries were all freely placed at the author's call. As the brief index, table of contents and foot-notes do not state this fact—though there is an occasional reference to the Society in the body of the work—we are led to suppose that the preparation of important prefatory matter was prevented by the illness and death of the author. A tract on our shelves of the first decade of the eighteenth century closes not with "*Laus Deo*" but with "N. B. This Peice (*sic*) comes into the World as Men go through it, with many faults"; a modest entry which though not common would occasionally at least be proper in this the last decade of the nineteenth century.

Our Recording Secretary sends from Switzerland a copy of the Memoir and Appendix setting forth the claim made by the United States against the government of Portugal for wrong done one of its citizens by the cancellation of the charter (concession of the Delagoa Bay R. R. Co. in South Africa). The books covering this case of international importance are printed but not published, and our possession of them will be perhaps unique. The Rev. Edward G. Porter has filled the gaps in our set of his publications, while another member has placed twenty-six of his historical brochures in binding and inscribed the volume: "Library of the American Antiquarian Society from one of the oldest surviving members, James Davie Butler, Madison, Wisconsin, September 15, 1892." A brief extract from Dr. Butler's appreciative letter to the librarian may

well be preserved in this report: "Your request that members of the American Antiquarian Society send copies of their works to its library would have been sooner heeded had I not hoped by waiting to make a more complete collection of my miscellanies than I find to be possible. Would that my volume were worthy of the companionship into which it will be ushered.

""Tis pity
That wishing well had not a body in't
Which might be felt; that we, the poorer born,
Whose baser stars do shut us up in wishes,
Might with effects of them follow our friends,
And show what we alone must think. * *

"My interest in historical research I trace to early association with the incomparable Samuel F. Haven. Our acquaintance and correspondence began before I had learned that Hudson river was not the western boundary of creation, but memories of him have shed sweet influences on me as I have followed the sun through all his course and gazed upon the midnight sun. Antiquarianism I have enjoyed in all the continents; I shall enjoy it as long as I live and I know it will help me to live longer."

The appended list of Givers and Gifts will be found to contain the names not only of members but of new friends as well as of old ones. From all we beg a continuance of favors, with the promise that under our rules they shall be made permanently useful. The elegant volumes received from Mrs. Penelope Lincoln Canfield are, as usual, selected with special reference to their value and fitness for this library. Mrs. Alice Morse Earle's "China Collecting in America" is happily endorsed "To the American Antiquarian Society with thanks for the valuable information obtained from its shelves and used herein." Hon. Samuel R. Heywood, president of the Heywood Boot and Shoe Company, has placed upon our walls a large, framed, historic painting representing the scene of the Mountain Meadows massacre of September, 1857. We have received

from Messrs. William Ware and Company one hundred copies of their Centennial number of the Farmer's Almanac, which contains the reproduction of our full-length portrait of its founder, Robert B. Thomas, and the sketch of his life by Hon. Samuel A. Green, M.D. The following letter from the Reverend Henry T. Cheever, D.D., is self-explanatory :—

WORCESTER. Aug. 1st, 1892.

To the Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society,

EDMUND M. BARTON:

Dear Sir:—

It is with no ordinary satisfaction that I am able to present to the American Antiquarian Society the bust of one of its distinguished members, Rev. Cyrus Hamlin, LL.D.

It has been executed at my instance and oversight by our well known Worcester sculptor, Andrew O'Connor. If admitted to your Hall of Honor, it will hand down to the ages the features of a Christian Philosopher, Patriot, Missionary and Man of Affairs, whose character and achievements, stamped as they are upon the Century which he honors, will be in everlasting remembrance.

To have had his bust wrought from life with such fidelity and spirit and committed to the safe keeping of your Walhalla, leaves me profoundly grateful to almighty God.

HENRY THEODORE CHEEVER.

The bust has been placed in the gallery of the main hall for your inspection.

Our draft upon the Bookbinding Fund has been heavier than usual the past year, though we must always draw largely from this all-important source. It may be said, especially of our newspaper files, that we are binding them not for present convenience alone or chiefly but for posterity. And yet it is a fair question and a vital one whether some of them in their present make-up can be preserved. At our annual meeting in 1886, Mr. Justin Winsor referring to the librarian's remarks upon our newspaper collection said: "I have been informed that so much clay is used in the manufacture of paper at the present day that their preservation for a century is exceedingly doubt-

ful." His suggestion that the proprietors of leading journals print a few copies of each issue on material which can be preserved is a measure of self protection which certainly deserves serious consideration. The quality of paper used for newspaper purposes seems in not a few cases to have sadly degenerated ; a few files received being utterly unfit for binding. This may, perhaps, be accounted for in part by the increasing number of readers, but the decrease in the quality of the paper is evident even to an unpractised eye. Compared with the paper of a century and more ago its staying qualities seem feeble indeed. John T. Hassam, Esq., said in a report made to the New England Historic Genealogical Society "very little paper is now manufactured entirely from rags. Most of that now in use is made wholly or partly of wood fibre. This adulteration is not due merely to the paper makers' desire to produce cheaper goods. The enormous increase in the use of paper in modern times compels them to seek new sources of supply for raw materials. All the rags in the world would prove insufficient to enable them to meet the demands for more paper. This wood paper has been known to commerce for less than a score of years, much too short a period to enable us to determine satisfactorily how long it may be expected to last. But in all human probability it will be less able than the other to stand the test of time and will shortly crumble to pieces. Some experts maintain that the whole literature of this generation will have utterly disappeared before the end of the next century, just as if it had never been, by the decay of the paper on which it is printed." I add a brief extract from Mr. Rossiter Johnson's article in the *New York World* entitled "Inferior Paper a Menace to the Permanency of Literature," as follows: "The books that are being made to-day will perish in a few years. They are brought into the world with a principle of decay in every leaf, and the cycle that the materials must travel before they reach again the dust from which they came, has been greatly reduced.

Walk past any paper-mill and you may observe round billets of wood about two feet in length, neatly corded up like firewood. These are the billets with which permanent literature is being knocked in the head. They are carried into the mill, torn to shreds by a powerful machine, reduced to pulp and manufactured into paper." While this statement of the case may perhaps be considered too dogmatic, it commands our attention and suggests an expression of the hope that modern science may provide a remedy for the evil. It is not enough merely to affirm that what is worth saving will from time to time be reprinted, nor that "the survival of the fittest" is a doctrine which in the realm of literature is without exceptions, though we may wish that first-class work in any department might by virtue of its quality imbue with permanence the very paper on which the results are printed. If then there is this real danger, it would seem more important than ever that we secure what we still need of the more durable issues of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and that we urge an early examination of the late products of the newspaper press for the ingathering of important historical material. Possibly the day of classified scrap-books is at hand and by this means a measure of what is best worth saving will be preserved. And yet for our own purposes we should have the un mutilated files. Bound volumes of newspapers have been presented to our library with the pages of advertisements carefully removed to save space and expense in binding. But of what practical use would such files be, for instance, to Mr. Joseph Battell, president of the Vermont Horse Breeders' Association — who has spent much time in our newspaper-room collecting material for his exhaustive work on American Horses — for his chief authorities of the earlier period are and must necessarily be almost wholly advertisements. And so the hope is again expressed that permanence of reading-room and library files may be secured by the printing of them upon more durable paper.

It may be well to enter just here the result of a recent count of our eighteenth century newspapers. It showed four hundred and thirty-three volumes of varying size and importance, and ninety-four volumes of a miscellaneous character but containing at least a few papers of the last century.

The American Antiquarian Society was incorporated eighty years ago next Monday, *i. e.*, October 24, 1812. Twenty-five years ago to-day (October 21, 1867,) was announced the gift of land and money which ten years later made it possible to occupy what, since the generous benefactor's death, we have been allowed to call the Salisbury Annex. October 21, 1867, was also made memorable by the reading of Dr. Haven's learned Report of the Council upon his year's study at Lausanne, of the Lake Dwellings of Switzerland and kindred subjects. While in all things relating to the Society's interests those were days of marked importance, even a hasty examination of our publications, and I may add of our work in general, will show a forward movement which has been steady and constant. That this movement, especially in the line of publication, may continue, it would seem that there should be a ready response to our President's call upon our select but wide-spread membership, as well as a careful consideration of the appeals of the Treasurer and of the Librarian. The modern field is much broader than that worked by the earlier members of the Society, and its "many men of many minds" of to-day and of the near future are likely to be representative men who should be heard. There is much suggestive truth in Dr. Holmes's "Urana: A Rhymed Lesson," especially where he says:—

" Yet in opinions look not always back;
Your wake is nothing, mind the coming track;
Leave what you've done for what you have to do;
Don't be consistent, but be simply true."

Of the seventeen officers elected twenty-one years ago

to-day, but three remain, viz. : Vice-President Rev. Edward E. Hale, D.D., writer of the Council Report for our Columbian celebration, our Treasurer, Nathaniel Paine, Esq., and our Recording Secretary, Hon. John D. Washburn, to all of whom we extend our heartfelt felicitations.

Respectfully submitted.

EDMUND M. BARTON,
Librarian

Givers and Gifts.

FROM MEMBERS.

ADAMS, Mr. CHAS. FRANCIS, Quincy.—His “Three Episodes of Massachusetts History,” in 2 vols., 8 vo.; and his “Address in Commemoration of the 100th Anniversary of Quincy, Mass.”

ALDRICH, Hon. P. EMORY, Worcester.—Three books; fifty-eight pamphlets; “The Antiquary”; and six files of newspapers in continuation.

ANDERSON, Rev. JOSEPH, D.D., Waterbury, Ct.—“The Churches of Mattatuck: Bi-Centennial Celebration,” containing Dr. Anderson’s Historical Address.

BARTON, Mr. EDMUND M., Worcester.—Thirty pamphlets; one photograph; and “St. Andrew’s Cross,” in continuation.

BRINTON, DANIEL G., LL.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—Three of his brochures.

BULLOCK, Col. A. GEORGE, Worcester.—World’s Columbian Exposition publications.

BUTLER, JAMES D., LL.D., Madison, Wis.—Twenty-six of his own publications.

CHANDLER, GEORGE, M.D., Worcester.—Forty miscellaneous pamphlets.

CHASE, Mr. CHARLES A., Worcester.—Three books; thirty pamphlets; and newspapers in numbers.

CLARKE, Mr. ROBERT, Cincinnati, O.—“Twenty-Second Reunion of the Society of the Army of the Cumberland.”

DAVIS, ANDREW McF., Esq., Cambridge.—His “Exhibitions at Harvard College founded prior to 1800.”

DAVIS, Hon. EDWARD L., Worcester.—Seven books; fifty-seven pamphlets; and six framed engravings and photographs.

DAVIS, Hon. HORACE, San Francisco, Cal.—Mills’s “California Land Holdings.”

DEXTER, Prof. FRANKLIN B., New Haven, Conn.—One college pamphlet.

EDES, Mr. HENRY H., Charlestown.—“Rolls of Membership of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, 1844-1891”; and twenty-five pamphlets.

FOSTER, Mr. WILLIAM E., Providence, R. I.—Three of his brochures.

GILMAN, DANIEL C., LL.D., Baltimore, Md.—Two of his brochures.

GREEN, Hon. ANDREW H., *President, New York*.—His “Eighth Annual Report on the State Reservation at Niagara.”

GREEN, Hon. SAMUEL A., M.D., *Boston*.—Six of his own publications; one hundred and twenty-one books; one hundred and seventy-one pamphlets; one photograph; one heliotype; one map; and the “American Journal of Numismatics,” and “Our Spice-Box,” in continuation.

GUILD, REUBEN A., LL.D., *Providence, R. I.*—His Historical Address on “Roger Williams, the Pioneer Missionary to the Indians.”

HALE, Rev. EDWARD E., D.D., *Roxbury*.—Two hundred and sixty-three numbers of magazines; and fifty-one miscellaneous pamphlets.

HALL, G. STANLEY, LL.D., *President, Worcester*.—“The Register and Fourth Official Announcement of Clark University.”

HARDEN, WILLIAM, Esq., *Secretary, Savannah, Ga.*—Constitution, etc., of the Georgia Society of the Sons of the Revolution.

HIGGINSON, Col. THOS. WENTWORTH, *Cambridge*.—His “In Memoriam James Russell Lowell.”

HILL, Mr. HAMILTON ANDREWS, *Boston*.—Two of his brochures.

HITCHCOCK, EDWARD, M.D., *Amherst*.—Four college pamphlets.

HOADLY, CHARLES J., LL.D., *Hartford, Conn.*—His “Some Early Post Mortem Examinations in New England”; and twenty Connecticut Proclamations.

HUNNEWELL, Mr. JAMES F., *Charlestown*.—His “Illustrated Americana of the Revolution.”

JONES, Hon. CHARLES C., Jr., *Augusta, Ga.*—His Annual Address before the Confederate Survivors’ Association, 1892.

LEA, HENRY CHARLES, LL.D., *Editor, Philadelphia, Pa.*—“A Formulary of the Papal Penitentiary in the 18th Century.”

MERRIMAN, Rev. DANIEL, D.D., *Worcester*.—Two books; twenty-nine numbers of magazines; and parcels of the “Christian Union,” “Nation,” and “Punch.”

PAINE, Rev. GEORGE S., *Worcester*.—The “Spirit of Missions,” in continuation, and two cabinet photographs of himself.

PAINE, NATHANIEL, Esq., *Worcester*.—One hundred and eighty-eight pamphlets, ten files of newspapers; seven of his Columbus photographs, and eight heliotypes.

PEER, STEPHEN D., M.D., *Asst. H.*—His “American Antiquarian & Oriental Journal” as issued.

PESSIN, NIGHT R., WILLIAM STEVENS, D.D., *Davenport, Ia.*—Four of his own publications; and the “Iowa Churchman,” as issued.

POPE, WALTER F., LL.D., *Chicago, Ill.*—“The Dial,” in continuation.

POWELL, Rev. EWEN S., *Worcester*.—Four of his own publications.

PRINCE, Prof. EDWARD W., *Cambridge*.—One pamphlet.

ROGERS, Gen. **HORATIO**, *Commissioner*, Providence, R. I.—“The Early Records of the Town of Providence,” Vol. I.; and the first report of the Record Commissioners.

SALISBURY, **STEPHEN**, Esq., Worcester.—His “Mexican Calendar Stone—Maya Archæology”; Marvin’s “Life and Times of Cotton Mather”; one book; one hundred and thirty-one pamphlets; and nine files of newspapers.

SMUCKER, Hon. **ISAAC**, Newark, Ohio.—One book.

WALKER, Hon. **JOHN B.**, Concord, N. H.—His “Account of John Burbeen, etc.”

WASHBURN, Hon. **JOHN D.**, Worcester.—“Mémoire et Appendice présenté par Le Gouvernement des États-Unis de l’Amerique du Nord.”

WINSOR, **JUSTIN**, LL.D., Cambridge.—His “Pageant of Saint Lusson, Sault Ste. Marie, 1671.”

FROM PERSONS NOT MEMBERS.

AMERICAN BOOKSELLER, PUBLISHERS OF.—Numbers of their magazine.

BAILEY, Rev. **FREDERIC W.**, Worcester.—His design for “The Record of my Ancestry.”

BALDWIN, Mr. **CHARLES C.**, Worcester.—Seventy books; five hundred and nineteen numbers of magazines; three hundred and thirty-five pamphlets; three files of newspapers; and ten maps.

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BIRCH'S SONS, Mr. **THOMAS**, Philadelphia, Pa.—One book.

BLACKWELL, Mrs. **SARAH E.**, Washington, D. C.—Her “Life of Anna Ella Carroll.”

BLANCHARD, **MESSRS. FRANK S. AND COMPANY**, Worcester.—Numbers of their “Worcester Commercial and Board of Trade Bulletin”; and “Franklin Illustrated.”

BOARD OF EDUCATION COMPANY.—Numbers of their magazine.

BOSTON BOOK COMPANY.—Its Check List of American and English Periodicals; and numbers of the “Green Bag.”

BRAYTON, Mr. **JOHN S.**, Fall River.—His “Address at the Dedication of the Town Hall, Swansea, Mass.”

BRYANT, H. **WINSLOW**, Esq., Portland, Me.—One newspaper.

BROWN, Mr. **FREEMAN**, *Clerk*, Worcester.—“Annual Report of the Worcester Overseers of the Poor, 1891.”

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CHEEVER, Rev. HENRY T., D.D., Worcester.—A plaster bust of Rev. Cyrus Hamlin, LL.D.; and the "Hawaiian Gazette," in continuation.

CLARK, Rev. GEORGE F., South Acton.—"The Voice" and "Woman's Journal," in continuation.

COMMONWEALTH PUBLISHING COMPANY.—Their "Boston Commonwealth," as issued.

CONATY, Rev. THOMAS J., D.D., Worcester.—His "Catholic Magazine," as issued.

COREY, Mr. DELORAIN P., Melrose.—His "Tribute to Arthur Deloraine Corey, Ph.D."

CORNING, Hon. CHARLES R., Concord, N. H.—New Hampshire State Library Report, 1891.

COUSINS, Mr. FRANK, Salem.—One pamphlet; and one photograph.

CRANE, Mr. JOHN C., Millbury.—His paper on the "Source of the Mississippi."

CROSBY, Master JOSEPH O., Worcester.—Three books; and one map.

DANA, RICHARD H., Esq., Boston.—His "Double Taxation Unjust and Inexpedient."

DARLING, Gen. CHARLES W., Utica, N. Y.—Four of his brochures; and a collection of circulars.

DAVIS, Capt. GEORGE E., Burlington, Vt.—"Revised Roster of Vermont Volunteers in the War of the Rebellion."

DAVIS, Hon. GEORGE L., ESTATE OF THE LATE.—"History of Oxford, Mass," by George F. Daniels.

DAVIS, Mr. WALTER A., *City Clerk*, Fitchburg.—The City Documents for 1891.

DENHOLM AND MCKAY COMPANY, Worcester.—Their "Fashions," as issued.

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DOYLE, Mr. JAMES J., *Publisher*, Worcester.—His "Messenger," as issued.

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ELIOT, CHARLES, *Secretary*, Boston.—One broadside.

ELLIS, JOHN, M.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—His "Personal Experience of a Physician," etc.

ESTES, Rev. DAVID F., Hamilton, N. Y.—"Soldiers' Record of Jericho, Vt."

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HARRINGTON, Mr. EDEN, *President*, Worcester.—"Catalogue of the Exhibition of the Art Students' Club, 1892."

HART, CHAS. HENRY, Esq., *Editor*, Philadelphia, Pa.—His "Historic Portraiture: Descriptive Catalogue of the Permanent Collection of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts."

HAZEN, Rev. HENRY A., *Secretary*, Boston.—The "Congregational Year Book for 1892."

HERING, Mr. WALTER E., Philadelphia, Pa.—Numbers of his "Church Standard."

HEYWOOD BOOT AND SHOE COMPANY, Worcester.—A framed painting of the Mountain Meadows Massacre; and card photograph of John D. Lee, its instigator.

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JOHNSON, Hon. EDWARD F., Woburn.—His "Woburn Records of Births, Deaths, and Marriages, 1640-1890," parts 2-4; and the City Reports for 1890 and 1891.

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KELLOGG, J. H., M.D., Battle Creek, Mich.—His "Good Health," as issued.

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MOWER, Mr. MANDEVILLE, New York.—Two newspapers.

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THE WORLD OF COMMERCE IN 1492.

BY WILLIAM B. WEEDEN.

MANY persons hold with Fourier that commerce is the art of buying at three francs that which is worth six, and of selling at six francs that which is worth three. Another French writer says that "Commerce is civilization in the chrysalis-state." I shall treat it in this latter sense, and broadly, whether carried on by land or sea. With mankind came commerce. War was a rude substitute. The necessity for change stimulated the raids of tribes and invasions of hordes, quite as much as lust for conquest and the need of slave labor. Prehistoric commerce¹ might be safely assumed if it were not substantially proven.

In the dawn of history, carrying elephants in India, camel trains in Asia and Africa, bore goods for exchange in the western world. For centuries, the Phœnicians who gave to the antique that Semitic element which Jews contribute to modern commerce, mastered all the waters of the known world. They were subdued by the Greeks as their Carthaginian descendants were subjected by the

¹ "The Fuegians, otherwise so low in the scale of civilization, sew planks together with thongs of rawhide, after the fashion of those in use in Africa and the Polynesian Islands. * * * In California, we see the papyrus plant of Egypt. * * * Rafts like the Madras catamaran were in use in Peru at the time of the Conquest, and carried sails. * * * I would argue from the vast accumulation of facts, that either the ancient prehistoric civilized peoples of America must have conveyed *their* ideas and customs to the Old World in some mysterious manner, or they must have received the germs of those ideas and customs from the Eastern hemisphere. * * * I believe that further investigation will eventually prove that in long by-gone ages, as at the present day, there was a constant surging to and fro of peoples, sometimes by accidental migration, sometimes driven onward by enemies of a ruder race, yet always carrying with them germs of thought to be planted in new soil."—A. W. Buckland's *Anthrop. Jour.*, XIV., pp. 223, 232.

Romans. The great political genius of the Romans and their warlike tendencies, have overshadowed their commercial functions. They were sufficiently developed to nourish an empire. There was no mercantile class, because every great Roman was his own merchant. According to Mommsen, the senators exported their own products in their own vessels in transmarine traffic. "The great land-holders were at the same time the speculators and the capitalists."¹ On the other hand, they were forbidden commerce for mere speculation. Every inducement was given a fortunate speculator to invest his capital in land,² and thus become a constituent of the permanent aristocracy. Cato advised the capitalist not to fit out a single ship, but to enter partnership with others and risk a fiftieth part in one vessel.³ Polybius said that hardly a man of means in Rome had not been an avowed or silent partner in leasing the public revenues. Above all, the Roman power made admirable roads for communication and traffic.

Rome fell, and the Saracen caliphates became the most active and concentrated power in the Mediterranean world. These people were not strictly mercantile, but they were fine amateurs. The Crusaders imbibed the rich and brilliant culture of the Saracens. The rude barons of the West acquired the higher tastes and keen appetites which created the demand for future commerce. Historians have justly remarked the positive difference between thalassic navigation and the great oceanic communication, which we shall treat later. The thalassic period was now complete. Caravans tracked their way through wide deserts. The old rivers, Nile, Tigris and Euphrates, later the Rhone and Rhine, the Po and Danube, the Don and the Volga, bore on their broad bosoms the rough commodities of barbaric tribes, the rich goods of refined communities. Maritime

¹ Mommsen's *Rome*, I., p. 270.

² *Ibid.*, p. 570.

³ *Ibid.*, II., p. 458.

coasting crept along the Persian gulf, all around the Mediterranean, through the Pillars of Hercules, upward to Britain and the north of Europe. This easy flow and interchange of commerce was not seriously interrupted until Constantinople was taken by the Turks in 1453.

The great commercial republic of Venice first absorbed the inflowing tides of this opulent Oriental sea. Her grandeur was at its flood in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; 1,000, then 1,500 nobles, 3,000 merchant vessels, 25,000 seamen, transacted this business. They sailed in squadrons convoyed against the Corsairs by war galleys. There were mainly two kinds of Corsairs; one, of mere robbers; the other, pirates of enterprise—as the word indicates—men driven from their patrimony, often unjustly, who adventured and fought in a chivalric manner. These pirates were also merchants and traders. A great Venetian fleet went to Constantinople, another to Spain and Portugal, to France, to Flanders the largest of all. A capital of 10,000,000 ducats was scattered abroad, bringing 4,000,000 in annual profits. Statistics inclined to be milliary then, but they show large transactions.

The list of wares is bewildering. From India and Central Asia came cottons, silks, brocades, cashmere shawls, medicines and indigo, amber, pearls and diamonds; from Persia, carpets, silks and skins; from Syria and Asia Minor, arms, armor and cutlery. Grain and food-stuffs came from Egypt and Barbary but chiefly from the Black Sea. Moorish Africa sent wool, wax, sheepskins and morocco. Hemp, canvas, ship-timber, tar, wax, hides, peltries and other merchandise, chiefly raw material, came out of Tartary and Russia in great boats floated down the rivers.

Venetian commerce was greatly nourished by close connection and interchange with the Hanseatic League. Other leagues existed, but this was much the largest, and wielded a power almost incomprehensible, in the fourteenth

and fifteenth centuries.¹ Virtually an *imperium in imperio*, it lifted burghers and artisans into citizens, and massed municipal powers against the military rule of rapacious barons. Nobles visited with these citizens in their own towns and helped to drill them and commanded their mercenaries. They had their own mints. Security and order, following this great federation, afforded a basis for industrial life and protected commerce. A dozen Hanse towns, Lubeck, Bremen, Hamburg leading, began the federation. But it extended far beyond these and was not confined to any Nation or State. A settlement was made in London; Rouen, Bordeaux and Saint Malo were confederated; Barcelona, Cadiz, Leghorn and Messina were allied with reciprocal privileges. The League controlled the trade of Northern Europe, including that which came through Russia from Persia, and was governed by a triennial Diet held at Lubeck. It was within and above the crude political organization of the time, and exalted the power of wages and personal freedom.

The Genoese followed closely on the Venetians; brothers in blood, rivals in trade, they fought foolishly. Genoa bought a strip of land from the Tartars in Crimea, and built the city of Kaffa—which they held until its capture by the Turks in 1474—thus securing a monopoly of the Euxine. They held Marseilles, Corsica and Elba. The Italians were the best manufacturers of cloth, though the Flemings were fast rising. Genoa exported cloth largely from Lombardy and Florence and from Flanders. Returning, their vessels took tin, silver, wine from Portugal. Bologna furnished fine linens, and coarser goods came from France.

Beautiful Florence combined utility with her grace. She was organized into twelve guilds of trades and professions after 1266. Her scarlet cloth was unequalled, and French cloths were finished there. Benedetto Dei brags hard over Genoa, Lucca, or all the Italian cities. “Know that we in

¹ *Yeats's Commerce*, pp. 159-167.

Florence have two guilds which are more estimable and noble than any in your city of Venice; we mean the woolen and cloth manufacturers."¹ One guild was of the Bankers, and in this profession the Florentines excelled all others; with their neighbors, the Lombards, they became the money-changers of Europe. The Florentines monopolized all the banking and a considerable part of the commerce of France. The House of Bardi of Florence, in 1329, farmed the total customs of England.² The popes employed there their capital—which was considerable—"sowing their money to make it profitable." Banks of deposit in Italy date from the end of the twelfth century. More important even than these, toward the working of this great commerce we are sketching, was the development of the bill-of-exchange, or letter-of-credit. The making of a draft "to order" transferable by endorsement, rendered credit effective, led to discount, and multiplied the force of capital many times. The beginning of this great improvement—far more valuable than the invention of gunpowder—cannot be precisely dated. It doubtless grew out of the need of more flexible interchange, as commerce developed.

Far-away England took part in these great civilizing currents as the fourteenth century went on. Her first export of coal was made from Newcastle to France in 1325.³ At the same time, textiles were sent abroad. Woollens, linens and even silks were woven. Her tin ore was sent to Malta, manufactured there and returned. The third Edward gave a great impulse to commerce, and sent the poet Chaucer his envoy to Genoa to hire vessels for his navy. The Italian vessels were superior to the English in size and force. The word "Jane" a galley half-pence, from "Janua" Genoa was used by Chaucer and Spenser, and marks the

¹ Cited in Yeats's *Commerce*, p. 108.

² Lindsay's *Ancient Commerce*, I., 524.

³ Yeats's *Commerce*, p. 135.

intercourse. But the first gold coin made by Edward III. for this trade was very unpopular. There was an important colony of Italian merchants in London.¹ "The Libell of Inglyshe Policye," a poem of 1436, already foreshadows the principles of the mercantile system.

"The grete galees of Venice and Florence
Be wel laden with things of complacence.

Also they bear the golde out of this land
And souketh the thrifte away out of our land
As the waffre souketh hony fro the bee
So minisheth our commoditie."²

But the oddest regulation of trade, in the light of our time, was a statute of Edward IV. which enjoined that for every ton of goods brought in, four bow-staves should be imported.

Perhaps the most significant effort of English enterprise was embodied in the rise of the Merchant Adventurers. Nearly all the trade described was done in markets or fairs, as it is done in Novgorod to-day. In the fourteenth century "staples"³ were established both in England and on the Continent. Wool was the chief article, but others were included. These staples were more thoroughly regulated markets, and tribunals were finally created for arbitration, not according to common law, but by law merchant. Two Englishmen, two Lombards and two Flemings made up a board. But the tendency of trade is to break over and through any regulated and formal system. The name Merchant Adventurer was given to anyone who sent a cargo where there was no staple. Their natural growth and increase was shown in the fact that they broke the power of the Hanse League,⁴ and finally became exclusive themselves. These companies⁵ had much to do with

¹ Harrisse's *Dis. N. A.*, p. 4.

² Cited in Cunningham's *English Commerce*, p. 237.

³ Cunningham's *English Commerce*, pp. 170-178.

⁴ Cunningham's *English Commerce*, pp. 241, 242.

⁵ See an interesting account of the Drapers Company of London, Harrisse *Dis.*, N. A., pp. 747-760.

sending out the Cabots and other explorations which made England great. The progress of England was such that she fancied a sumptuary law was necessary in 1377, providing that except at festivals, meals should consist only of two courses, with two kinds of food at each course.¹ Ireland provided against gilded spurs and bridles in 1447.

Spain was not a commercial or manufacturing district in the same sense as the more conspicuous countries we have discussed. But the port of Barcelona in Catalonia became an important city. When the Moors were driven out, the Catalonians succeeded to some of their skilled industries. The first bank of deposit for the benefit of private dealers was located there in 1401.² The earliest regulations for marine insurance were formulated there. Their mariners were skilful and intrepid.

Several way-marks should be noticed in this restless tide of progress, for they are significant memorials of the inventive and adaptive intellect of man. Gunpowder, a labor-saving implement of immense capacity, was invented about 1280. A needle floating on wood and turning northward, derived from the Chinese long ago, was used in the Mediterranean. In 1362, Flavio Gioja developed if he did not invent the present mariner's compass which made possible the discovery of a new world. During the fifteenth century, astrolabes, time-pieces and charts were employed. Greater than all, Gutenberg's types in 1440 did for knowledge, what drafts to order or at sight did for the funds, resources and life-blood of commerce. The printed word passed from mind to mind, transferring and translating the great powers of civilization into the common uses of life. One of the early results of printing embodied itself in a startling episode of our theme. For it was a small book which took the name of the new continent from Columbus and gave it to Vespuccius.³

¹ Yeats's *Commerce*, p. 173.

² Yeats's *Commerce*, p. 120.

³ Major's *Prince Henry*, p. 239. Winsor's *Columbus*, p. 539.

We should glance at the vessels conveying the Mediterranean commerce and at the habits and condition of the mariners who conducted them. Considerable advance in shipbuilding¹ was made about the middle of the fifteenth century. The slow brain of man had at last conceived that it was better to trade than to fight. The competition of the Italian republics produced a better type of vessel. The Genoese evolved the first ship approaching the modern form and rig. Their carrack of 1542—illustrations of which are preserved—is, in principle, much like the carrying vessel used a half-century since. We should except the high-pooped stern, a survival of the fighting-tower, which long prevailed. "Ornaments, emblems, and devices were lavishly engraved or painted on the hulls; while alternate stripes or squares of variegated colors decorated the sails."² Everything was freely done which could contribute to magnificent and splendid effects.

Poor Jack has been much the same relative man in all ages. Our mariners swore terribly, like Uncle Tobey's men-at-arms, but they likewise prayed vigorously on occasion. After the commerce with St. Domingo was established, Carreño was pilot of a vessel carrying a valuable cargo of sugar and hides to Spain in a violent storm. When all but lost, he appealed so piteously with tears in his eyes to the Virgin Mary, that she saved all, though the Devil was plainly heard in the clouds saying "who cares for her?"³

Sailors did not dare to whistle lest it bring on a wind if it was a calm, or increase it if one was blowing. It was unlucky if a vessel listed to starboard when lading. Monsters were conveniently near, especially if needed in the interests of religion. One rose from the deep and swallowed an unbelieving sailor, who, playing at dice, defied

¹ Lindsay's *Anc. Com.*, I., p. 517.

² Lindsay's *Anc. Com.*, I., p. 537.

³ Burridge's *Dis. N. A.*, p. 700.

the Virgin Mary. A whole boat's crew testified to this little occurrence¹ and the authorities—convinced that something must be done to save life in the interests of humanity—strictly forbade the playing of dice on board ship. “Yo ho! Heave O!” the song of modern docks was sung by the Venetians and probably by the Phoenicians. The Norman code for regulating sailors was severe and a statute of Richard² brought over some of its provisions. Severe punishments were carefully graded for murder, brawling, or reviling. For thieving, the head was shaved, then tarred and feathered. Modern rioters crudely imitate mediaeval law-givers.

Men in companies and crews urged forward the industries, and opened out the great avenues of communication by land and sea, which supported all this trade. The world of commerce at last produced a man. Born in 1394 Prince Henry died in 1460. Students are chary of the word genius. We may apply it to this person of rare insight, who brought all the qualities of investigator, leader and soldier to the exploration of the seas lying outside and beyond the ancient world. Son of a Portuguese king, grandson of John of Gaunt, his English mother added to the sensitive and receptive Latin spirit the strenuous energy of the northern races. He was not only courageous; his great moral energy inspired courage in those serving under his direction. After gallant service against the Moors, he left the easy and more agreeable life of courts to settle at Sagres, the extreme southwestern point of Europe. The Pillars of Hercules left behind, here the thalassic scene which has nourished and likewise constrained us, opens wide into the great oceanic world which man was soon to occupy with his myriad fleets, driving out the fabled monsters who had fascinated and repelled the elder generations. The “Sea of Darkness”

¹ Lindsay's *Anc. Com.*, I., p. 539.

² Lindsay's *Anc. Com.*, I., p. 628.

was soon to be lighted by the warm currents of human life and the glow of human activities.

Eastern Mediterranean enterprise had passed along the coasts, by the hands of both Aryan and Semitic races, until it halted on this rocky, bleak, stormy coast of Portugal. Like begets like, Prince Henry gathered about him not only picked Portuguese, but the boldest, skilled navigators from all Europe. Not westward but southward he looked for the way out from Europe, around Africa, into those dim regions of the old mother Asia, whence might come untold wealth. By investigation, by steady exploration, by tradition and report, by the profound intuition of genius, Prince Henry knew that the Cape of Good Hope, as we know it, the "Lion of the Sea," in his day ; that this frowning end of a continent existed and would pass along the mariner bold enough to grapple with it. He sent one expedition after another, steadily winning to himself bits of the unknown. He spent his own fortune and used the revenues of the Order of Christ, of which he was grandmaster. Theological bias affected merchants and princes as well as commercial desires and impulses. It is considered that the expulsion of the Moors stimulated the search for a passage to India.

We may anticipate in time the sequel of this splendid line of achievement. The master died midway in the course, but the followers worked on to a successful issue. Vasco Da Gama sailed around the Cape in 1497. At Mozambique¹ he encountered the stream of life that flowed down the eastern coast. For he found great Mahometan merchants, owning large ships without decks. These were fastened in their parts with leather, no nails being used, and their sails were palm-leaf mats. Genoese compasses and quadrants were here, and they used charts. At Calcutta, Da Gama met two Moors of Tunis, who spoke

¹ Major's Prince Henry, p. 247.

Spanish and Genoese. "The Devil take you for coming." "What brought you here from such a distance?" The pious Latin sailor, with keen appetite for the savors that enlivened the crude western cookery, replied "We come in search of Christians and spices." Zamorin, king of the Indian Coast, sent a letter to Da Gama for the King of Portugal. He said that India had precious stones and spices in abundance. "What I seek from thy country is gold, silver, coral and scarlet."¹ Spices! always the aromatic scent led them on. When Cabral stumbled on Brazil, he commanded a large expedition sent out to trade in India. Later, when Magellan rounded South America, he was seeking a short cut to the Spice islands.

The imagination dominates mankind. The greatest exponent of our modern world was ruled by his imagination. The sagacious Talleyrand has shown that when Napoleon yielded to this, he began his downfall. The feats of Napoleon after 1806 were greater materially considered than those under the Directory and Consulate. But when his reason—or as the French statesman puts it—his genius fell under the control of his imagination, these external feats carried him to ruin. It has been said that the imagination can realize the ideal, can represent the invisible by the visible, or the infinite by the finite.

What was the world of the imagination in the fifteenth century? It was an objective world, limited by the senses and defined by theories we can hardly comprehend or set forth intelligibly. While we should not rashly assume that the mind of man was less active than we now know it, the activities certainly took on different forms. Individual minds here and there were powerful and intensely active, as the renaissance or wonderful new birth plainly shows. Quality was higher and finer, quantity was differently distributed. The life of the people moved in an atmosphere

¹ Major's Prince Henry, p. 252.

which was outward and objective, controlling the surrounding perspective. There were no great collections of books. Manifold and multiform printing filling the air with words was unknown; mechanism and machines in varied organizations that should make utility almost creative and divine were not even conceived of. Utility was in the grub. Splendor was on the wing and shining forth everywhere. It was not a matter of race; the Saracens had enlivened the Latins, whom the heavy English and stolid Germans were following fast. The Low Countries were magnificent in processions, festivals and banquets. Men and women wore the richest stuffs in profusion. The helmet laid aside, the gentleman's head carried waving plumes and glittering gems. Cathedral building, that poetic utterance in stone, had expended its best force, and structure was becoming less lofty. Italian art, after the high spiritual exaltation of Umbria and Siena, was beginning to revel in more sensuous color. Palaces, civic citadels and sumptuous dwellings more completely embodied the spirit of this time.

I would not depreciate the large and increasing movement of the Church of Rome, always a great factor in progress, even when it only furnishes the latent force in the balance-wheel. It was now germinating the Protestant remonstrance, which was to continue the renaissance by rendering religious life into new forms and to make secular activities more popular and expressive. For the gestation of this lusty outlaw alone, humanity owes the Catholic mother a great debt. But the higher development of commerce was not helped by the Roman ecclesiasticism. Papal bulls did not forward legitimate trade any better than modern, representative legislation does. Alexander III.¹ thundered against all who furnished supplies to the Saracens, but the rich Venetians could get a license under it.

¹ Lindsay's *Anc. Com.*, I., p. 505.

Nor did priestly interference encourage that faithful payment of debt which is the vertebrate substance of commerce. Saint Louis of France, a heavenly example of priestly and kingly living, annulled by a stroke of pen a large fraction of all debts due from Christians to Jews. This was a pious act, for which the superhuman ruler took unto himself seignorage and brokerage.

Many scholars in the cloister aided the gestation of the renaissance. Many mariners and statesmen contributed by their bold invasions of moss-grown custom; but neither priest nor politician made it. A profound intuition of man, it surely found its opportunity in the perfected outgrowth of thalassic commerce. This commercial and restless human movement, striking against the mailed and embossed institutions of feudalism, gave out a spark of creative force so powerful that it has been rightly called a new birth of the human soul.

Christopher Columbus, the Genoese adventurer, was born into this world of oriental magnificence illuminated by Saracenic culture; this busy mart of southern Europe. The tremendous energies of the northern races were beginning to be felt through the Hanse League and London adventurers. The oceanic spirit embodied in Prince Henry of Portugal had filled the old vessels with a wine of discovery too potent for their worn and narrow bulk. About 1474, Columbus went to Portugal, the most enlightened commercial mart, and at the same time received a letter from the Florentine physician, Toscanelli.¹ The Florentine's theories of the rotundity of the earth embodied Aristotle's and all the previous learning of the subject, whether speculative or empirical. Considerable importance is attached to Toscanelli's influence over the great mariner. From the inductive character of Columbus's mind it may be doubted whether any speculative opinion

¹ Harris's *Discovery N. A.*, pp. 651, 652. Winsor's *Columbus*, pp. 108, 117, 489.

could influence him so strongly as the facts of previous discovery, that filled the atmosphere of Portugal. He said if the Portuguese have discovered so much southward there must be more westward. But he could not induce the Portuguese to adventure with him.

This is not the occasion to discuss the genius or character of Columbus. He possessed himself with the idea that Asia could be reached and its riches embraced by a bold venture westward. The discovery of America was wrapped within this idea, and Columbus unwittingly made it. Courage of the highest, endurance of the strongest was needed; he had them and he gave them freely. Commerce is not concerned with his deficiencies; he did the work.

Spain had not commercially earned the position she acquired through the discovery of America. If she had done so, historical development might have been different. Rebuffed by Portugal, Columbus sought the court of Ferdinand and Isabella. Political sagacity rather than the cartographer's insight or the exploring courage of sailors, influenced the Spanish court. Perhaps the fine intuition of a woman did more even than statecraft to precipitate the issue. The circumstances of the discovery are well known.

I have said that the imagination dominates, and every work proceeding from it requires a symbol. The one recognized and best understood in this objective world by the Spaniards was auriferous. Gold, gold, gold! Miss Kilmansegg with her golden leg was then even more potent than now. The alchemists whose work was extensive, helped to turn the popular mind that way. Everybody from Zamorin on the Indian coast through the artisans and sailors of Europe to the grandees of Spain, was crying out for gold. It is pathetic to follow the great Columbus, with Winsor¹ among the islands on his first voyage, nibbling at the ears and noses of Indian captives for gold, and

¹ Columbus, Chap. X.

vainly imagining every strange sound to be an echo from the golden courts of Kublai Khan. Spain hungered for her golden symbol and she got it. According to Ustariz,¹ she imported five thousand millions of dollars in gold and silver from 1493 to 1724. Yet there was not even apparent profit until the discoveries of Cortez in 1519.² Afterwards the real profit all went to others, chiefly to the republican Netherlands and stolid Englishmen, whom haughty Spain despised.

The Spaniards have been tried at the tribunal of history, not by what they accomplished in the discovery and occupation of America, but by that which they desired and expected. They did not expect, they would not have cared for another world, a counterpart of Europe, which should work out the half-developed experiments of older civilizations under new and favoring conditions, and send back results to modify and change the face of the Old World.

"Men's expectations entertain
Hopes of more good, and more beneficence."

Their expectancy was for power, especially for that immediate manifestation of it symbolized in gold. Their pietistic performance, by the way, overlaid these more vigorous passions. The pietism of the fifteenth century was, at best, a survival from times when faith was more effective, even if civilization was ruder in form. The poor achievement of the many excellent missionaries in Latin America proves the essential weakness of their system of faith. Spain must be judged by its expectancy, and the resulting deeds.

And modern critics may well look to their own attitude, and their active expectancy. Nothing ever exceeded the self-complacency of this century now drawing to its close. We run a steamship across the Atlantic in about five days,

¹ Macpherson's *Auc. Com.*, II., p. 5.

² Harris's *Dis. N. A.*, p. 654.

and light up darkness with a blaze fierce as sunlight. Fat millionaires give thank-offerings in large sums, when they fancy Providence has intervened in their favor. Our intelligence is widely diffused, but it is spread thin.

The twentieth century is coming ; and, later, the thirtieth will overtake the world. It will inquire who discovered the steam-engine, who drew forth the electric-spark. Why were the dynastic wars of Napoleon, or the blundering struggles of Western Europe with Russia, or the futile contests of France with Germany ? How did you allow the brute force of labor to organize against the gravitating powers of capital, and all together to oppress society in the name of liberty ? How evolve Socialists with syringes of rose-water when good sense and manly action were required ? Oh, nineteenth century ! You will be called to the bar of history to answer : Did you consolidate power, whether it be of gold, or arms, or newly harnessed force, or late discovered powers of association ; or did you simply stand for the right and the true ?

THE ANCIENT STRUCTURES OF YUCATAN NOT COMMUNAL DWELLINGS.

BY EDWARD H. THOMPSON.

I DESIRE to state with all the emphasis of an absolute conviction, that the ruined structures of Yucatan were not communal dwellings, as has been by many believed.

I have examined over sixty groups of ruins and have never yet failed to encounter, where circumstances made investigation possible, sites of the lower class of home-dwellings in every way as different from the imposing edifices of stone, as are the humble abodes of the day-laborer from the palatial structures of modern luxury.

In the neighborhood and enclosing many ruins, as for example those of Uxmal and Chichen-Itza, modern haciendas have been maintained for many decades, and the ancient structures have served as granaries and cattle-pens, while the modern huts of the peons have dotted the region. These huts, prototypes of the ancient dwellings of the lower classes, are fragile structures of withe-work and mud, thatched with the leaves of the guano-palm. They are abandoned on the slightest pretext.

The quick decay of the tropics, and wood-eating insects, in a short time, convert their fragile structures into hut-sites almost as ancient in actual appearance as are the house-sites left bare centuries before. This fact of course almost precludes obtaining reliable data of the kind desired from such ruined groups.

My most systematic and searching investigations have been made in a ruined group absolutely free from such intrusive modern structures.

Labna, a ruined group lying among the Sierras, beyond the frontier towns of Yucatan, has for seven years been the field of my principal archaeological labors. Surrounding this group of ruined stone structures, temples, palaces and priestly dwellings, I have found hundreds of sites once covered by the mud-walled, palm-thatched homes of the humbler classes, the *Na's* of the past. Excavating these sites, I find the ever-present *Koben*, the three-stone fireplace, the broken pottery in the ashes, the fractured *metall* and roller with which the corn for the daily "*uah*" was ground, and children's toys in the shape of polished sea-shells and bits of figured clay, hard burned.

In the Ohio excavations, carried on with so much skill and patience by Professor Putnam and his assistants, even the post-holes of prehistoric structures have been found. The post-holes of similar structures in Yucatan I cannot find, and although I know they once existed, I hardly hope to find them.

A broad-mandibled digging ant, called by the natives "*Day*," infests the forests and jungles of Yucatan to an extent that will often convert a former level plain into a series of cellular mounds sometimes several feet high, leaving the apparently level earth so honey-combed that a careless traveller will often find himself sinking up to his knees in the loosened earth. When these ants work as they generally do amid the ruined groups, it is useless to think of encountering post-holes or indeed any small objects, except such as by hardness of material or otherwise defy the destructiveness of these insect vandals.

The huts of the aborigines were, judging from the contours of their sites, of various sizes and shapes. The majority were oval, some were nearly round with a diameter of twenty-five feet, while a few were rectangular. This last form was rarely encountered and when found is invariably larger than the oval or round structures. Some of the larger structures were connected by a pathway, whether

covered or not of course I cannot say, with a smaller structure in the rear. I find no trace of streets as we understand the term ; meandering paths winding among the buts apparently served the purpose and were probably all-sufficient, as they had no beasts of burden or cattle of any kind. The hut-sites are rarely separated by more than forty feet of land space, and often much less. These huts, built directly upon the low, moist soil of the valleys, must have been very damp and stifling in the wet season. The sanitary conditions must have been terrible. Death undoubtedly laid a heavy hand upon the lower classes. Great pestilences, reference to which is found in all traditions of the natives, could easily have been nursed amid such conditions.

Within the precincts of the palaces and the priestly abodes all was different. Smoothly levelled terraces of different elevations were so constructed as to furnish perfect sanitary drainage. The imposing structures erected upon these terraces were constantly swept by refreshing breezes, giving a temperate coolness to the fortunate inmates, while the luckless dwellers in the huts upon the plain below were steaming in a torrid heat. This description is not imaginary on my part ; I have lived in the palaces and steamed in the plains beneath. The difference in temperature can hardly be realized. At Labna, after perspiring at every pore from the simple act of taking notes, I have ascended the terrace of the temple and have been actually chilled by the freshness of the constant breeze prevailing at that altitude.

The immense terraces and the structures that once crowned them, many of which still remain, indicate the existence of superior intelligence to command the labor necessary to erect them. Such labor, it is fair to presume, was either the forced task of slaves, or the voluntary service of religious devotees. Possibly both factors were utilized. Authorities commanding less valuable labor had

to be content with terraces of less altitude and stone structures less imposing. I find many structures of this class in all of the ruins, including Uxmal and Chichen-Itza.

Generally, near the great palace of each group, I find small structures of stone, often entirely without ornamentation and almost always upon a lower level than the palace proper. That these structures were actual habitations seems more than probable from evidences that exist, projections for hammocks, etc. It seems but natural to suppose that these were quarters for the servants of the palaces or sacred structures. This is of course but supposition, as no proof is at hand, but the idea is the common-sense one.

Of the home life of the humble dwellers there is much yet to be learned. We do know, however, from abundant proofs, that their life in general was much like that of the servile class of to-day, but unrelieved by the potent aids and ameliorations that the present civilization affords to even the most ignorant and to the humblest class. Their cutting implements were of stone or obsidian, broken to a serrated edge or chipped to a cutting one. Obsidian was scarce among them, and the finds made would seem to prove that they possessed themselves and utilized the smallest fragments, possibly the pieces rejected and thrown out as useless by the dwellers in the stone structures.

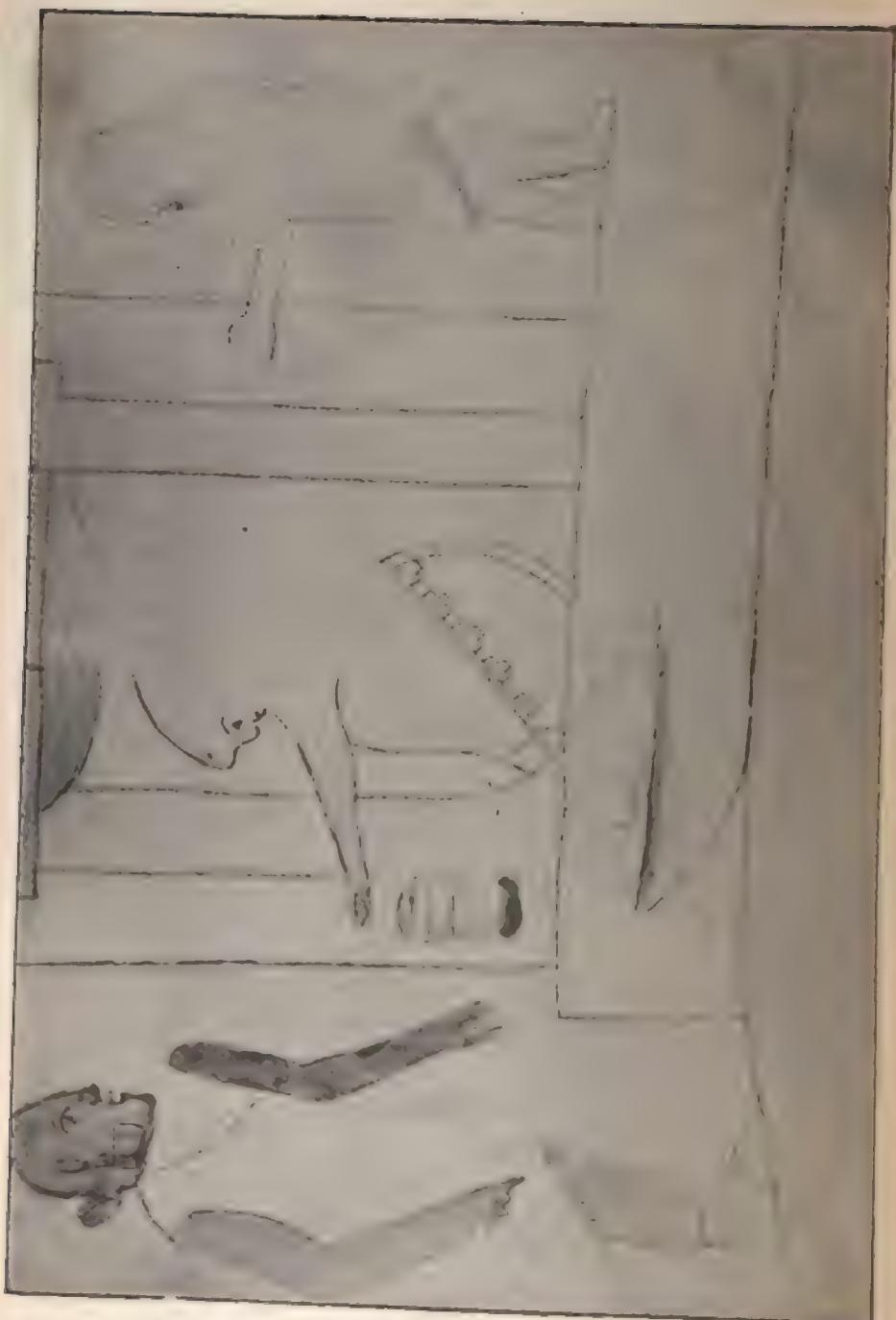
Indian corn or maize was then as it is to-day an important article of food. I find nearly the same proportion of broken *metatl*, or corn-grinders of stone, and their *A'a's*, or rollers, among these ancient sites that I do around the native hamlets or pueblos of to-day. I have made close calculations from personal observation, and find that of the food of the lower classes of to-day, eighty (80) per cent. is of Indian corn in its various forms, twelve (12) per cent. of vegetables and fruits, and the remaining eight (8) per cent. of meat. With this great preponderance of demand for grain-food, it would seem as if the ancient people of

Yucatan must not only have been essentially an agricultural people, but that the laboring classes must have had so much to do in raising the Indian corn for their own sustenance, and also for the numerous non-producers practically dependent upon them for their food-supply, that no time could be afforded to erect these immense, terraced mounds, or cut the innumerable carved stones and hewn blocks to face the huge structures with which they were crowned. The Indian of to-day in Yucatan is pre-eminently a corn raiser; whatever else he may neglect he never neglects his corn-field, or *milpah*. Notwithstanding this, not enough corn is raised in Yucatan to satisfy the demands of the non-producers, by a quantity varying from one hundred thousand to two hundred and fifty thousand bushels yearly. It must be borne in mind that the great demand of the present day is caused in part by the necessities of the domestic animals, horses, cattle and fowls. We have no evidence to prove that the ancient inhabitants of Yucatan had a single species that could be called a domestic animal as the term is used by the world in general. Whether these reflections coincide with the ancient facts or not cannot be proved, but it is clear that maize was in sufficient quantity to supply the demands, that the terraced mounds¹ and massive structures were erected, and that these great labors were accomplished by the sweat and painful toil of the humble laborers of the land.

Upon the interior walls of a certain edifice at Chichen-Itza, apparently a temple, standing upon the highest artificial pyramidal mound of the group, and approached by flights of stone steps upon its four sides, still exist mural paintings that, although faded by time and still more defaced by vandals, are to-day the most perfect examples of mural paintings by the ancient dwellers in Yucatan that

¹ Moreover, it is easily proved by investigation that a large proportion of the terraced mounds were artificially constructed, except when they chanced to be located in a hilly country, which is rather the exception than the rule.





are known. Among the many interesting scenes represented, are several which depict thatched houses like those in use the present day. Within one of these a woman is seen seated upon a *kanche* or native chair, before her is the *koben* or three-stone fireplace upon which is cooking some object, a fish or some small animal. By her side is a basket filled with some round or disk-like objects, presumably the *uah* or tortilla. From the rear of the house or hut, a man is going out in an attitude of leave-taking, while at the front of the hut another man is standing, apparently desirous of purchasing or begging the food displayed. (See Plate 1.) The same scene is now met with in every native village, with all the accessories, *kanche*, *koben* and all the rest, every day. So far I have found no evidences leading to a belief that these early builders were not the ancestors of the present native race in Yucatan. At the same time, I am bound to state that the dress of the ancient women as depicted upon the walls at Chichen-Itza does not seem to have been the *uipic* and *uipil*, the hitherto-supposed ancient female apparel of Yucatan.

The copies of the mural paintings upon the walls of the Chichen-Itza structure, now in possession of the American Antiquarian Society, are undoubtedly the most truthful reproductions of this ancient work in existence. In making these copies the greatest care was taken to obtain accuracy in detail in color. The room was, by reason of its situation and structure, obscurely lighted, while the colors upon the walls were dimmed and in places hidden by a coating of ancient grime. Care and a series of large reflectors made of white cloth stretched upon frames, so placed as to throw a soft, white light upon the different walls, overcame the above obstacles. Great care and attention were also required to eliminate the intrusive work of those in modern times who, not finding the ancient paintings entirely to their liking, had striven by pencil and brush to make them so. By the aid of a good magnifying-glass, line after line was

traced out, until as a result that which was proven authentic was transferred by a skilful artist to his paper, and these fac-similes of this ancient work are now safely guarded in the archives of the above-mentioned society.¹

The water-supply of a people is always a most important and interesting study. It becomes doubly so when considering a land where no rivers intersect the country, or lakes

¹ The two plates here given are selections from the copies thus taken of these mural paintings, and show several very interesting features.

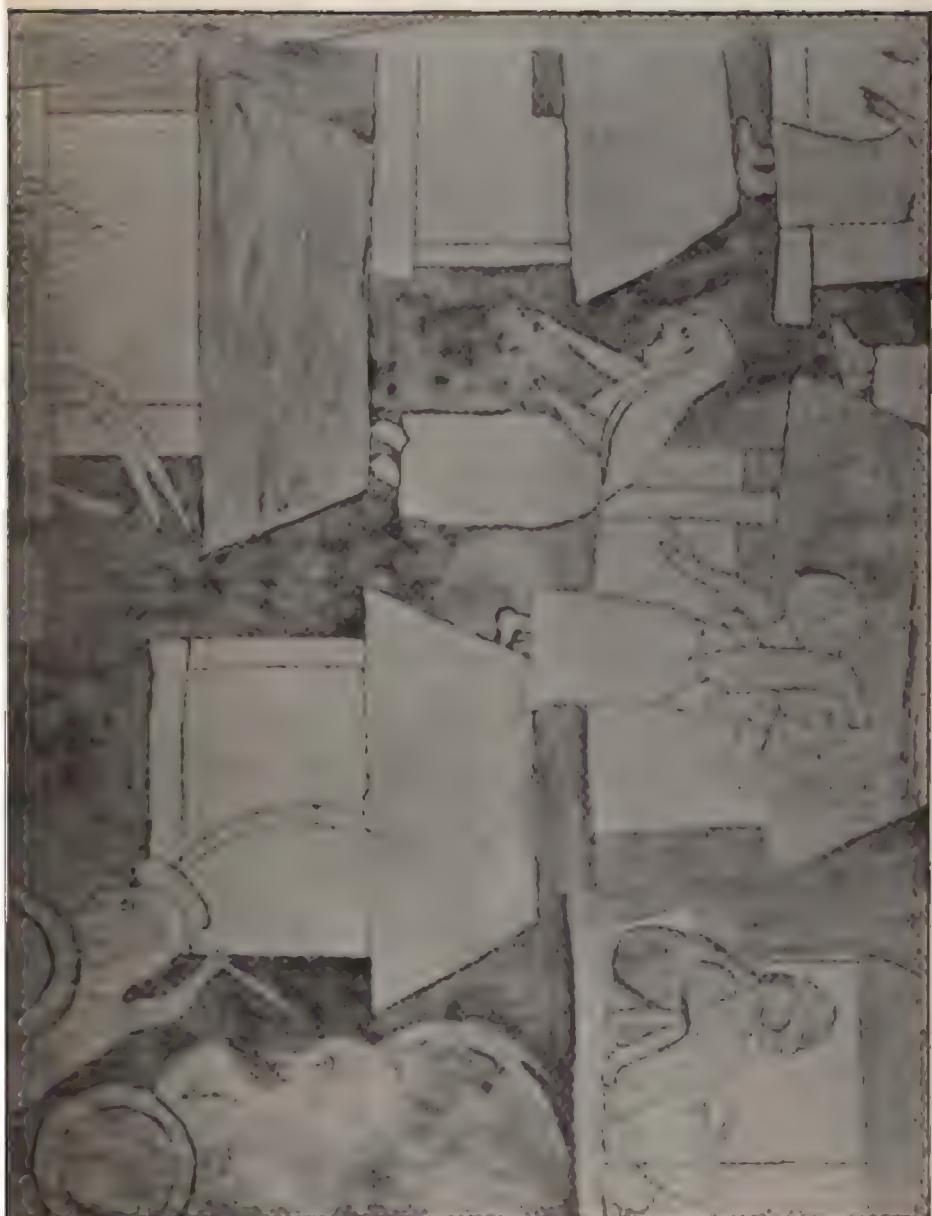
The ancient artists whose works these mural paintings were, had a peculiar method of placing one layer of pigment over another and as some of these layers seem to have had but slight adhesive qualities it follows that by the lapse of time and other agencies, many of the original designs have become changed. For example, the ancient artist desired to depict a warrior carrying a green shield with yellow bosses studding it. The shield was first painted entirely over with green, then against this as a background was overlaid a thick chalky pigment forming the round disks or yellow bosses. To-day, the point of a penknife, or even a slight jar is sufficient to dislodge many of these disks, thus changing the device of the shield very materially. Generally, however, the colors used retain their shade in a remarkable degree under the adverse circumstances that surround them.

Plate 1 represents a woman seated upon a *banche* or native chair close by the open door of the house, just without the house is the *tokon* or three-stone fireplace. Upon this is placed a peculiar cooking-utensil within which some small animal is being cooked. By her side is placed a basket containing many round or disk-like objects, probably the kind of bread to-day generally known as tortillas. The woman wears a garment resembling the *sigil*, the embroidered edge of which has a design strikingly resembling a line of cornice ornaments very common among the ancient structures of Yucatan. Two other figures are visible, both apparently men, both are clothed in loose upper garments, apparently white, fringed with a brown material, possibly tanned deer-skin cut into fringes-like ornaments. One of these figures, the one apparently requesting food of the woman, has the ear-lobe orifice filled by a huge ear ornament. The other figure, just outside of the rear door, is in the attitude of leave-taking. The two figures, in general appearance, strikingly resemble the peripatetic mendicants that abound in Yucatan at the present day.

Plate 2 presents the section of an inhabited group. The thatched houses are shown, even the markings of the thatch are clearly visible in places where time and man have not succeeded in removing them. Close by these houses women are depicted watching with very intense anxiety the result of the battle being waged before them. The emotion is very clearly shown in the attitude of the women.

The student of this state will note the fact that the garments worn by the women depicted are colored and others are quite different from the pure-white taste of our broad and *sigil* and *uipal*, the supposed garments of the sex in ancient times.

As soon as certain investigations which I have commenced are finished, I shall try to explain these apparent differences of dress in a special paper.





dot the surface. Not that Yucatan lacks either lakes or rivers, but as they are generally from fifty to two hundred feet beneath the surface, and that surface mostly solid limestone, it manifestly becomes difficult to have always immediate access to these sources of supply. There are huge crevasses, deep holes and water caves, all called indiscriminately *chenes* or *cenotes*, existing in many portions of Yucatan, and where the groups of ancient ruins are situated near them the problem is easily solved, as they offer an abundance of the precious fluid. But there are groups situated in districts where I have been able to find no such sources of *natural supply*, notwithstanding diligent search. In such places it is not hard to find the sources of water-supply for the stone dwellings, nearly every one of which had its reservoir or series of reservoirs, each one holding when in use an average of eight thousand gallons, but I am unable to find the method of water-supply for the laboring class. The large pot-holes in the hillside ledges called *sartenjas* probably supplied the wants of a portion, while hollow trees fire-hewn into water reservoirs may have served likewise. Both of these methods of supply are in use to-day among the Indians of the unexplored interior.

How little absolute knowledge we have of this mysterious people whose very existence would have been denied were not the massive evidences of their former presence still in sight. And yet like the gradually unfolding details of a negative, fact after fact is being continually discovered by patient investigation, until we can hope before many years to have at least an outline history of these prehistoric Americans, until the life-histories of their famous warrior chiefs or priestly rulers are known to us, and we learn of the pains and tasks and trials of the bone and sinew of all temporal prosperity and pride of power, the field-laborer and worker.

YUCATAN AT THE TIME OF ITS DISCOVERY.

BY EDWARD H. THOMPSON.

How did Yucatan appear at the time of its discovery in 1506? This question, in the light of the confused and meagre details given by the conquerors themselves, might seem to be a hopeless problem; and yet it is not so, for other means of knowledge are available.

There are those who assert that from a single fossil bone they can reconstruct the perfect animal, and for us who have such abundant material dug from the ground, taken from edifices still standing, out of chambers still habitable, it should not be impossible to present many truths of the ancient past of this strange land.

Along the low-lying coast of Yucatan are found watch-towers, small structures covering terraced mounds: from these and similar structures placed inland, tidings of importance, the forays of the savage Caribs, omens of the sea, etc., could be swiftly sped toward the great inland settlements.

Some of the groups of ruins have a circumference of over four miles. A sight of one of these settlements in the height of its life and prosperity, would have been amply sufficient to dispel the belief that its builders were ordinary communal Indians.

A temple with its front a mass of intricate carving placed high upon a terraced mound, overlooked the entire collection of dwellings. Along each front of this high mound, extended the undulating body of a huge serpent carved out of blocks of stone. High upon the platform of the temple rested the tail, while the gigantic head with jaws wide open

and forked tongue extended, lay menacingly upon the level plain at the base of the mound.

At one side an immense terrace supported a massive structure over three hundred feet long, of many turns and angles. It was a gigantic mosaic of marble and limestone. The rooms were narrow and windowless, but the entire front was covered with richly carved stone-work, over which was placed a thin coat of hard stucco, glistening white and shining like silver. The flat roof was covered with the same material, and from the eaves projected gargoyle of grotesque type.

Beyond this massive building were others of similar character, but of less magnitude, while away in the distance in the steaming mist of the plain, could be seen the mud-built, palm-thatched huts of the lower classes, the tillers of the soil, the artisans and quarrymen, those who existed that the others might live.

From the distant hillsides could be heard the incessant tapping of the heavy, wooden mallets, as the workers in the quarries with their keen, hard chisels of nephrite, fashioned the new-hewn stone.

Macadamized roads, raised two or more feet above the general level and surfaced with hard, smooth cement, went from palace terrace to temple, while others led away until lost in the distance, presumably to other populous groups.

Upon all the distant hilltops gleamed white stone structures, while the steep slopes were converted into series of terraces like the famed hanging gardens of Babylon.

Beyond these were the great cornfields, amply sufficient to support these people, who, although living in a region possibly the actual birthplace of the Indian corn, did not, apparently, possess a single kind of useful domestic animal to profit by the precious grain.

Those who lived and dwelt within these cities were a people not tall but well built and robust; their color, unlike that of the Indian race in general, was of a rich brown.

The chief, when dressed for public ceremonial or war, was a vision to behold. A *penanche* or frontlet encircled his forehead; above it waved plumes, while from beneath it on each side, the long, black hair fell until nearly touching his shoulders. Perforating the lobes of his ears were huge round ear ornaments, generally of the precious green jude-stone. His arms were bare, save for armlets and bracelets. A richly worked *uit* or loin-cloth protected his loins, while his legs were covered with leggings of quilted cotton, elaborately worked and colored, fastened in front by a series of rosette-like ornaments. Two thonged sandals protected his feet while the mace of authority, the *acatt* or dart-sling, and the terrible two-handed serrated sword of obsidian or flint, were his weapons. His large, round shield was painted with his heraldic devices.

His followers, those he led to battle, were dressed according to their rank or station. The rank and file when about to engage in battle, wore nothing but their loin-cloth, and sometimes a turban-like head covering. Their weapons were the dart-sling, the lance, the serrated sword of flint or obsidian, and the heavy, round, throwing stone.

Each shield carried painted upon it the device of the chief under whom its owner served. The battle pennons were similarly painted. (See Plate 3.)¹

¹ Plate 3 shows the warriors in the act of battle.

Clad in war costumes consisting of a short upper garment, probably the quilted shirt of cotton armor, reaching just below the *uit* or loin-cloth, the warriors poised their lances and darts in the very act of launching them at the foe.

Each round shield, carried warily upon the left arm, bears upon its surface certain devices.

The shield arm also carries a sheaf of lances, while slung from his shoulder depends an ornamented sheath probably containing the *acatt* and darts that accompany it.

The peculiar turban-like head-dresses, probably like the shirts made of quilted cotton, are surmounted by plumes, colored like the shields with the color-token of their chiefs.

Thick-soled sandals protect their feet, while the tying-thongs of deer-hide or fibre-cord are very prominent.





Commerce was carried on principally by the means of barter. In exchange for salt, cotton-cloth, dried fish and resins, they obtained from the highlands of Mexico nephrite stone, mineral paints and the *obsidian* or volcanic-glass, with which they made keen knives or sharp lance-heads. From Guatemala came the precious jade-stone, *quetzel*, plumes and cocoa. Metal played but little part in their economy.

No deposits of any useful metal were known to exist in the land, and the quantity obtainable by barter was insignificant. Black silver, probably meteoric iron, known to the Chiapanese, was but slightly known in Yucatan, and even copper was extremely rare.

Nature-worship, the cults of the Sacred Serpent and the Sun, was their theology, but human sacrifice was rarely if ever made. For this reason, unlike the Aztecs, having no rites requiring living human victims for sacrifice, they fought to kill, as later the foreign invaders learned to their cost and sorrow.

No people of the new-found world fought harder for their liberty, against the mailed invader, but they fought in vain. The olden, happier days when the rulers of the whole land were united and strong had passed. Under domestic jealousy and petty power, city after city was destroyed or deserted.

It was the old story, so old that the world was new when it was first told, and the earth will be gray and cold with age before it will be told for the last time. When the foreign invader came, he found a house divided against itself and ready to fall. The light of the Snake and the Sun paled and vanished before that of the Cross and the Sword.

THE LADY MOWLSON SCHOLARSHIP AT CAMBRIDGE.

BY ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS.

AT the meeting of this Society held in Worcester, October 21, 1887, I submitted a paper which was printed in the Proceedings of the Society under the title, "The first Scholarship at Harvard College."

The founder of this Scholarship was described in the original document dedicating the fund to beneficiary purposes, as Lady Ann Mowlson of London, widow, but beyond the information contained in these words nothing was at that time known about her. In alluding to this fact I made use, in the beforementioned paper, of the following language: "Notwithstanding the great interest which attaches to the name of Lady Mowlson, Quincy was compelled to sum up what he could find out about her in the paragraph 'Nothing is known of Lady Mowlson except that she was among the earliest of the transatlantic benefactors of the College.' A grateful posterity, not content with merely knowing her name and holding up for admiration her liberality in thus generously endowing the distant College in the wilderness, would gladly know more of her. Perhaps a clue to her kinsfolk may be found in the designation of 'John Weld now scholler in sd College' as the first beneficiary of the exhibition."

Ever since my attention was attracted to the subject, I have been watchful for clues which might clear up the mystery which surrounded the personality of Lady Mowlson. When Brown's *Genesis of the United States* came out I carefully examined the names therein given, of subscribers

to American ventures, and was rewarded by discovering that one Thomas Mowlson was present at a meeting of the the Court of Assistants of the Grocers' Company held at London, April 15, 1614.¹

This solitary item of what might possibly aid in my search, was all the information on the subject which I had been able to glean, up to last spring when I submitted to Mr. John Ward Dean, the editor of the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, the manuscript of an article which was published in the July number of the Register, under title of "The Exhibitions of Harvard College prior to 1800." While this article was going through the press, Mr. Dean expressed great interest to know more about Lady Mowlson. His familiarity with sources of information upon points of genealogy enabled him to place at my disposal several references, the examination of which furnished considerable information relative to a certain Sir Thomas Mowlson prominent in London affairs in the early part of the seventeenth century. He also kindly invoked the aid of Mr. Henry F. Waters, the accomplished genealogist, who supplemented the foregoing work by an original investigation in England, which disclosed the fact that Sir Thomas died about 1638, leaving a widow, Dame Ann, who was alive in 1643. The information collected from these several sources will be found in the sequel.

Sir Thomas Mowlson was a native of Hargrave-Stubbs, Cheshire, where his family settled about 1500. His name appears in a list of those present at a meeting of a Court of Assistants of the Grocers' Company, held in London, April 15, 1614. His name also appears in the lists of sheriffs for London and Middlesex,—21st James I., 1624. In 1627, he founded at Hargrave-Stubbs a chapel, and endowed it with £40 per annum for a minister. At the same time he

¹ Brown's *Genesis*, Vol. II., Page 687.

endowed a school, adjoining the chapel, with £20 per annum "for the government, education and instruction of youth in grammar and virtue," and directed the overplus of rents arising from certain lands, then by him given, to be applied to the relief of such poor persons as the majority of the feoffees should think fit. In 1633-34, he was an alderman of the City of London, and in March, 1634, the Lord Mayor having died, he was chosen to succeed in that government. He was knighted at Greenwich, on the first day of June, 1634. After the expiration of his term of office as Lord Mayor, his name is still found for a brief time among the aldermen.

Traces of the esteem in which he was held are to be found in the character of his official work and correspondence. On the 17th of May, 1634, he reported to the Council the quantity of oats in store in the shops of the chandlers in London. On the 15th of July, the Commissioners of Pious Uses wrote to him relative to the procuring of contributions towards repairing St. Paul's. On the 24th of July, 1634, the King addressed a communication to Sir Thomas Mowlson, Lord Mayor, and the Aldermen of London, recommending a scheme for the improvement of the streets of London. This letter contains a suggestion for maintaining sidewalks, and for the introduction of water into the city, and is of itself of so much interest that I quote it in full.

"It is not unknown to them (the Lord Mayor and Aldermen) with what readiness the late King gave encouragement to propositions made to him concerning the beautifying of the city of London. His endeavors have produced good effect, the King, in confidence of their industry to advance a work so happily begun, recommends to them a proposition lately made to his Majesty by Daniel Nys, a gentleman of good understanding and experience, for beautifying the streets of the city by raising them to a convenient height, evenness and decency leaving an ample passage

for coaches, carts and horses, and reserving a competent part of the streets to be made even in a commodious manner and for the greater convenience of those that travel on foot, besides a handsome accommodation of water for cleansing the streets by pipes of lead so to be laid as will be found a work of great consequence for avoiding those unwholesome and contagious vapours which infest the city at all times. The King has therefore addressed this gentleman to them, not doubting but that in conference they will find his proposition worthy of encouragement."

On the 16th of March, 1635-36, Sir Thomas, then an alderman, was associated with Sir Nicholas Rainton, alderman, by order of Council to report on the petition of the "Tawyers and Skinners," which was by order of Council referred to them. The report of the committee was made on the 22d of July.

In 1638, the will of Sir Thomas Mowlson was probated. In 1657, Dame Ann Mowlson, his widow, executed a will which was proved in 1661.¹

An analysis of the foregoing discloses the career of a successful and public-spirited merchant, who was honored by his fellow-citizens. In the height of his prosperity, mindful of the obligations imposed upon him by the accumulation in his hands of an undue proportion of the wealth of the land, his mind turned to his place of nativity in Cheshire, and he there established a beneficiary fund for religious, educational and charitable purposes. He shared in the general interest which American ventures stirred up at that time in London, and his name is handed down to us in an American historical work through his attendance at a meeting of the Court of Merchants of which he was a member. His rank

¹ Since this communication was laid before the Society, abstracts of the Wills of Sir Thomas and Lady Mowlson have been received by Mr. Dean and will appear in the *Waters Gleaning*; in the January number of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*. From references in Lady Mowlson's will to her relatives, it may be inferred that her family name was Radcliffe.

as knight gave him the title of Sir and entitled his wife to be addressed as Lady. Certain eccentricities in spelling on the part of those who recorded Lady Mowlson's name in the Massachusetts archives and in the college records were alluded to in the paper of October, 1887.⁹ In the several references which have been referred to herein the name is spelled either Moulson, or Mowlson, the former being the prevailing method.

There is nothing in these references which will determine the theological opinions of Sir Thomas, but the language used by the author of the chapter in Lyson's *Magna Britannia*, in which he speaks of the chapel at Hargrave-Stubbs being endowed with £40 "for a minister" would indicate that Sir Thomas was a dissenter. This is not the word ordinarily used to designate a clergyman of the Church of England. Nor do I think that this inference is much weakened by the fact that the same author is authority for the statement that the Dean of Chester and the Rev. John Oldershaw, Vicar of Tarvin, were, in 1810, when the second volume of *Magna Britannia* was published, among the feoffees of the trust. The Restoration effected many changes in trusts of similar nature, of which the conversion of that notably liberal institution, Emanuel College at Cambridge to its present high-church views is an illustration. In any event I do not wish to be understood as attaching much weight to the inference as to the theological opinions of Sir Thomas which I draw from the use of the word "minister" in describing the clergyman who was to officiate in his chapel. If he was a dissenter, it would have furnished one more reason why his widow should be called upon by the committee from Massachusetts Bay who were then soliciting funds in Great Britain. If he was not a dissenter there was no reason why she should not contribute. The continuous flow of funds which took place at this time from Old England to New England was not limited by any question

of theological belief between givers and receivers. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, was a Church of England organization. Its funds were used for the construction of an Indian college at Cambridge and its officers assented to the use of the building for dormitories for white students. The gleanings of Mr. Waters, now being published in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, furnish abundant evidence of the widespread interest which was felt in England in the welfare of the colony of Massachusetts Bay.

It was in 1643 that Thomas Weld, pastor, of Roxbury, in the Plantation of New England, received from the hands of Lady Ann Mowlson of London, widow, the full and entire sum of one hundred pounds, to be given to Harvard College in New England, the yearly revenue of which was according to her good and pious intention to be and remain as a perpetual stipend for and towards the perpetual maintenance of some poor scholar.

Lady Ann Mowlson, the relict of Sir Thomas, was then in the fifth year of her widowhood. Her survival at that period is attested by the execution of a will in 1657. The committee appointed by the General Court of Massachusetts Bay were then seeking aid in England. What more natural than for them to turn to the wealthy widow of a man who had shown an interest in American affairs, who had while still living himself endowed a chapel, a school and a charitable fund, and who was probably in sympathy with the theological opinions of the members of the committee. All circumstances point to the identification of the founder of the Lady Mowlson Scholarship with the widow of the sometime Lord Mayor of London. If the proof is not positive in its character, still the chain of evidence is sufficiently strong to carry conviction to most minds. Those interested in the subject who accept these conclusions will rejoice that the mystery which has enshrouded the generous

founder of the first scholarship in this continent has at last been removed.¹

¹ The sources of information upon which the above statements are based are as follows:—

Calendar of State Papers (Domestic) 1633-34.

Same series. 1634-35.

Same series. 1636-37.

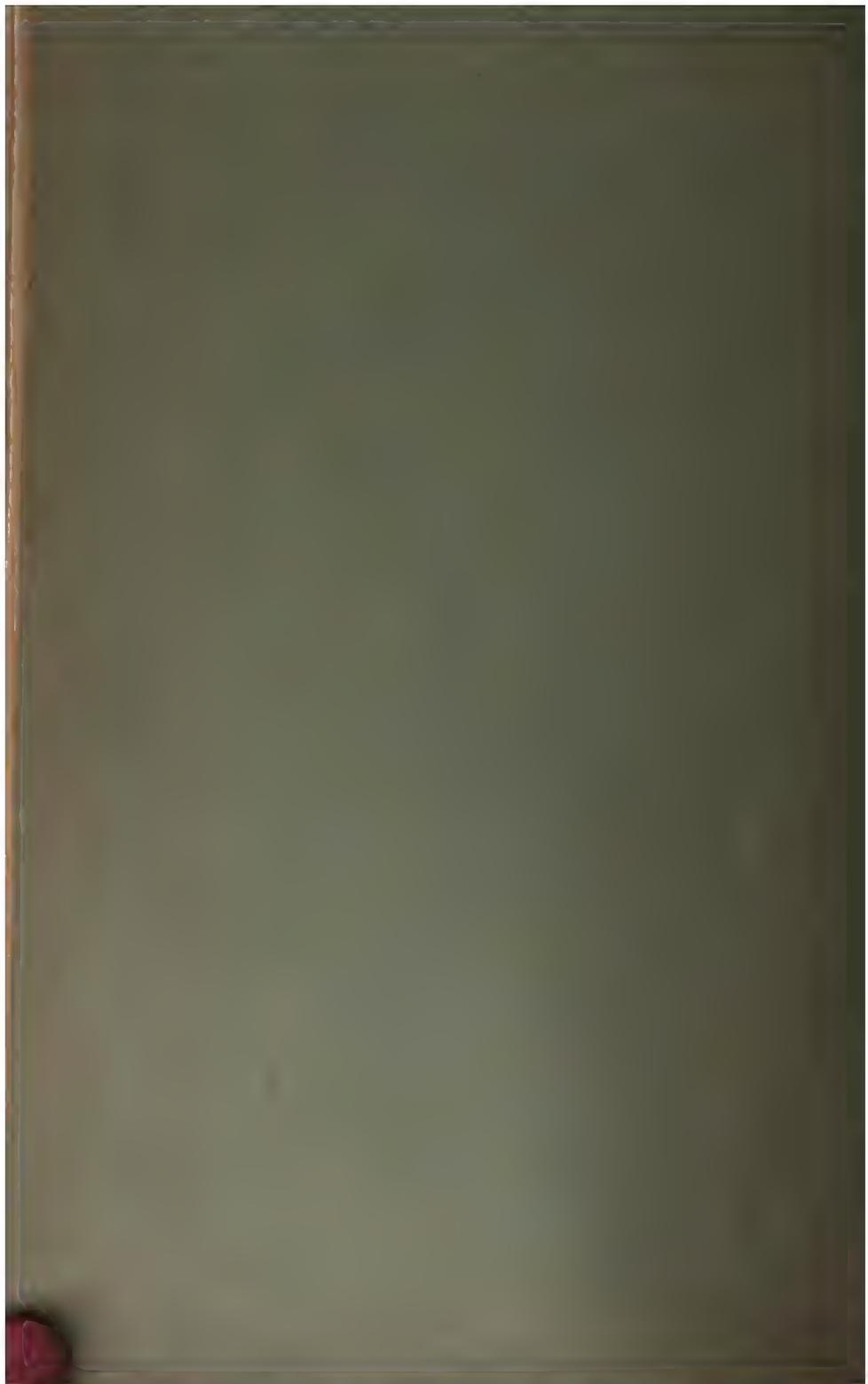
The History of the Worthies of England, endeavored by Thomas Fuller, D.D., London, 1662. Nuttall's edition, London, 1840.

Lyson's *Map of Britannia*. Vol. 2, Part 2. Cheshire. London, 1810.

Brown's *Genesis of the United States*.

Letter of Henry F. Waters to John W. Dean, dated London, 18th June, 1892.





Vol. VIII.

NEW SERIES.

PART 3.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

American Antiquarian Society,

AT THE

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING HELD IN BOSTON.

APRIL 26, 1893.



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MEETING OF THE COUNCIL.

AT a specially called meeting of the Council of the American Antiquarian Society, March 12, 1893, to take action on the death of **Andrew P. Peabody, D.D.,**

President **SALISBURY** said:—

“The Council are met to take notice of the death of their associate, Rev. Andrew Preston Peabody, D.D., LL.D., of Cambridge, who died March 11, instant, at his home, after a brief illness, occasioned by the effects of a fall from which he failed to recover though strong hopes were entertained that his life would be spared. Dr. Peabody was born in Beverly, March 19, 1811, and was the ninth in seniority on the list of members of the Society, having been elected in October, 1856. His first service to the Society was in acting as a delegate to the archæological congress at Antwerp, in 1866, with Dr. Charles Deane and Dr. Samuel F. Haven, when these gentlemen together visited England, Scotland, Belgium and Switzerland, and promoted the interests of archæology by their joint investigations. Doctor Peabody was elected to the Council in October, 1884, and prepared in that year a memorial of Stephen Salisbury, late president of the Society. In October, 1885, Doctor Peabody read the Report of the Council, taking as his subject, ‘The Fallacies of History.’ In October, 1888, Doctor Peabody paid a biographical tribute to the late Dr. Joseph Sargent, and at the annual meeting the same year, he read a valuable paper upon ‘Hopkinsianism.’ In October, 1889, our associate gave as an essay in the Report of the Council an account

of 'The Farmer's Weekly Museum,' published at Walpole — N. H., 1793-1810. In his own words, it was 'the paper that contributed most largely to the nurture of American literature in the first half-century of our national existence.'

"The loving interest of this gifted scholar and writer for our Society, and his many acts of service are fresh in our minds, and I have requested our Recording Secretary — Hon. John D. Washburn, to express the sentiments of the Council."

Col. WASHBURN said: —

"The Council of the American Antiquarian Society have listened with profound interest and sorrow to the announcement by the President of the Society, of the death of their honored and beloved associate, the Rev. Dr. Peabody. In that announcement are included the leading facts relating to his connection with the Society, and his election to and service in this body, to which statement it seems unnecessary, at the present time, to add anything more. But the Council would place upon their records some brief memorial of one so dear to his associates, whose companionship was one of the most valued privileges of that association, and whose peculiar position here it seems impossible to fill.

"It was in the soft sunshine of his later years that he came to the membership of this body, bringing to our deliberations the ripe suggestions of a long and studious life. His early days had been characterized by singular promise, and his collegiate course was finished at an age at which very few young men of his time had completed the studies preparatory to admission. Graduated at fifteen, he entered at once on the active duties of life, following the steps of his honored father as a teacher of youth. It was a remark of his, made more than once to the writer of this memorial, that those years of teaching were worth more to him than the same number of years of study, and that the habit of mental accuracy then acquired had been of infinite value to him in

all the varied intellectual pursuits of his later life. This mental habit made him a keen and close observer and critic; always frank and fearless, without disparagement of others, but with a manly independence and self-respect. And here, since this is not the occasion for detailed recital of the incidents and achievements of his career, it is sufficient to say that all the promises his youth gave forth were more than fulfilled in the progress and completion of his life, and that perhaps no man of his generation had a larger influence for good.

"Protracted far beyond the prescribed and ordinary limit of human days, that life was a constant stream of benefactions to mankind. His long ministry at Portsmouth, N. H., was one to the fidelity and success of which the past generation, and the present not less, bear witness. The great University to which the best powers of his mind and heart were so freely given, is witness, also, by the grateful and affectionate acknowledgment of all her sons. To the faithfulness of his studies and expositions in literature and history, his associates in those attractive fields of intellectual labor bear witness. His many publications on subjects religious, ethical and historical have been always welcomed and appreciated by students of those subjects not less than the educated public in general, as most valuable contributions to sound learning, and aids to human progress. It was his happy fortune to live in the studious leisure of old age, in the full enjoyment of honors and appreciations so richly earned. Yet the members of the Council would do injustice to the sentiment this great loss to their membership inspires, did they fail chiefly to dwell on the peculiar value of Doctor Peabody's service here, not only as a contributor to the literature of the Society, but by his faithful attendance upon our meetings, his frequent suggestions and intelligent criticisms, and his constant encouragement to industrious and faithful effort for the promotion of the objects of the Society. His benignant presence was always

welcomed here, his counsels listened to with unfailing deference, his wise and thoughtful comments upon the papers prepared for submission to the Society, always accepted as most valuable aids to their completeness and success. And of no other member of the Council can it be more truly, if as truly, said that his personal companionship lent a charm to our meetings which association merely literary cannot afford.

“Here, in the familiar intercourse of friends, he overflowed with good will and loving kindness for all. Here he was wont to express himself with an easy informality and grace of language which caused every utterance of his to be awaited with interested expectation and listened to with unfailing delight.

“Not, therefore, to the eminent divine and theologian, nor to the able critic and scholar, nor yet to the accomplished man of letters, is this tribute of the Council chiefly paid; but to the loved associate, the encouraging and stimulating companion, the true and great-hearted friend. As such the members of this body, amid the general admiration of his noble life, great attainments and adornment of every department of learning which he touched, love best to recall him in this hour of bereavement, and dwell in grateful affection on his memory.”

Mr. J. EVARTS GREENE said:—

“I can add nothing of importance to Mr. Washburn's eloquent and beautiful tribute to Doctor Peabody's memory, but I wish to say that, during the short time of my association with Doctor Peabody as a member of this Society, I have been especially impressed with the length of his life, greater than the number of his years would indicate, because the period of boyhood and youth was shorter, and the time of active, responsible manhood began with him so much earlier than with most men.

“He was the associate on terms of personal intimacy with

men, some of them eminent, who died more than sixty years ago, so that his experience of active life and of men was that of 'one ten years older than his actual age. This personal knowledge of the men and affairs so remote from us in time, gave an especial interest and charm to his conversation.

"His early maturity of mind was not that precocity which sometimes in manhood disappoints the promise of youth, but was healthy and natural. The current of his life flowed yearly broader, deeper and stronger until the last that we knew of him."

Dr. G. STANLEY HALL said:—

"My acquaintance with Doctor Peabody began in 1876. I was then teaching at Harvard, and received a few spontaneous and encouraging lines from Doctor Peabody, whom I had then never met. These kindly words were, under the circumstances under which they were given, as needed and as helpful as they were thoughtful on the part of the sender. This incident, trivial in itself, may illustrate Doctor Peabody's kindness and sympathy with young men, which, perhaps, was really his most dominant trait of character. A few weeks before his death, in speaking at an alumni dinner of Williams College in Boston, Phillips Brooks spoke at some length of Doctor Peabody, who was present, in a strain of mingled praise and raillery, suggesting Alcibiades's description of Socrates in the *Symposium*, and describing Doctor Peabody as *the* man whose heart was youngest of all present, who had in some way circumvented nature in combining the wisdom and the serenity of age with all the geniality and enthusiasm of youth; as the man who attended more dinners, knew more men, heard more speeches and sermons, said and felt more beneficent things than any man of his age, and was really more of a hearty good fellow, and a better illustration of conserved youth than could anywhere else be found."

Mr. SAMUEL S. GREEN said:—

“Mr. President, I have known the late Rev. Dr. Peabody for more than thirty years, and his death is felt by me as a personal loss. I never have described to him any undertaking of importance without warm expressions of his sympathy; the completion of undertakings has always been greeted by him with hearty congratulations. He has said of me and my work some of the kindest words that have ever been spoken regarding the one or the other. I do not make this statement for the purpose of bringing my own affairs into notice, but as illustrative of a trait in Doctor Peabody which has already been spoken of more than once to-day, and which struck every acquaintance of his as characteristic of him. His kindness was his most conspicuous quality; every member of this Council who has known him for several years feels as I do, and knows that he has lost in Doctor Peabody a personal friend. Thousands of friends and acquaintances in New England and throughout the United States are mourning to-day, as we are, the loss of a personal friend.

“He was a link between a past and the present generation. His acquaintance with distinguished men began early, and his recollections of them and anecdotes regarding them made his conversation delightful. I constantly met with surprises in his presence. Thus it seemed to me a little strange when he told me that he was a fellow-tutor with Benjamin Pierce in Harvard College, and that while he held that position, our venerable associate, Rev. Dr. Ellis, was an undergraduate in the college. Not long ago, I met him in Boston at the University Club on the evening when it was opened. The fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of Rev. Dr. Osgood over a church in Cohasset had just been celebrated. I said, ‘Doctor Peabody, I see that the papers class you as a contemporary of Doctor Osgood.’ ‘I remember,’ he said, ‘preaching in a town in New

Hampshire while Doctor Osgood was attending school in the town.'

"It was a great privilege, Mr. President, to have Doctor Peabody for a friend. He was always ready to place at the service of such a one anything that was wanted from the vast stores of learning which he had gathered during the many years of his studious life. He was ready, too, to exert his influence in behalf of a friend, in a good cause, whenever it was called for, and that influence was of the greatest value, for he always enjoyed the acquaintance and had the confidence of the most influential and powerful men of his time.

"A quality which, joined with his real intellectual power, his accomplishments and kindness, gave the older men in the community confidence in Doctor Peabody, was his conservatism. I remember reading, when a boy, a volume of doctrinal sermons which he had delivered to his people in Portsmouth, and afterwards published. His views of Jesus were conservative for the denomination to which he belonged. Unlike Channing and many other Unitarian ministers, he did not hold to the humanitarian view of Jesus, but, like Rev. Dr. Aaron Bancroft, one of the founders of this Society, he was an Arian. I do not know just what his theological views were when he died, but I am sure that he always held very conservative views regarding Jesus. He probably never reached the view entertained recently by so many prominent thinkers and ministers, that God is immanent in all men, in the members of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, and in the material world, as well as in Jesus, and that there is no difference but one of degree between the inner self of Christ and that of human beings generally.

"But I did not mean to illustrate Doctor Peabody's conservatism by reference to his theological views. I had the honor to read, as part of the report of this Council, a few years ago, a paper on The voluntary maintenance of

ministers in the early days of the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, and in the paper had occasion to allude to the amendment of the Constitution of Massachusetts by which, since 1834, the voluntary system, tried at the start in Plymouth and at least in some parts of the Massachusetts colony, had been made permanent here. Doctor Peabody rose and made a statement which seemed strange to young men sitting before him, namely, that he had not been in favor of making the support of religious institutions voluntary, and opposed the passage of the amendment to the constitution referred to; 'Although I took a stand against the amendment,' he said, 'I am glad that it was voted upon favorably. The results from its adoption have been good.'

"Doctor Peabody was not a leader of the advanced guard, but a conservator of established institutions.

"Thirty years ago, the young men of the time found Doctor Peabody a very kind man, but one who felt it to be his duty to oppose and discourage in them advanced theological and philosophical thought. I regret that I did not seek, late in his life, to enter into conversation with him on theological matters. I am sure that he would always have preferred that a man should be true to his own convictions, even if he regarded his views as erroneous. It must be that his kindness and good judgment would have always led him to feel sympathy for earnest men, irrespective of their views. I should like to have found out before he died, whether in the light of the advance of knowledge which enables the followers of the scientific method in theology to make to-day affirmations by which religious and moral enthusiasm is irresistibly awakened, he could with hearty sympathy bid God-speed to advanced thinkers."

PROCEEDINGS.

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 26, 1893, AT THE HALL OF THE
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, BOSTON.

THE President, Hon. **STEPHEN SALISBURY**, in the chair.

The following members were present:—

George E. Ellis, Edward E. Hale, George F. Hoar, Nathaniel Paine, Stephen Salisbury, Samuel A. Green, Elijah B. Stoddard, George S. Paine, Edward L. Davis, James F. Hunnewell, Egbert C. Smyth, John D. Washburn, Thomas W. Higginson, Albert H. Hoyt, Edward G. Porter, Reuben A. Guild, Charles C. Smith, Edmund M. Barton, Thomas L. Nelson, Franklin B. Dexter, John J. Bell, Charles A. Chase, Samuel S. Green, Justin Winsor, Henry W. Haynes, Andrew McF. Davis, Cyrus Hamlin, J. Evarts Greene, Henry S. Nourse, Daniel Merriman, Reuben Colton, Robert N. Toppin, Henry H. Edes, Grindall Reynolds, William E. Foster, Hamilton A. Hill, Charles P. Bowditch, Edwin D. Mead, Charles Francis Adams, Calvin Stebbins, Francis H. Dewey, Benjamin A. Gould, Edward L. Pierce.

The records of the Annual Meeting were read and approved.

Rev. **GEORGE E. ELLIS**, D.D., said:—

“Our senior member, Mr. **WINTHROP**, gave me the pleasure of a call yesterday afternoon, having for a few days been confined to his house by weakness. He said that he had walked the short space to my home to try if he might venture to come here to-day as he very much wished to do; but he could not venture. He desired to be kindly remembered with his respects to the President and members, expressing his continued interest in the Society.

Our senior, in membership, will complete his eighty-fourth year on the 12th of May."

Mr. HOAR:—"Before the Society proceeds with its business, I move that the Secretary send the affectionate and reverent salutation of the Society to our associate, Mr. WINTHROP, and the expression of its desire that his health and happiness may be prolonged in this life."

The motion was put by the PRESIDENT, and unanimously adopted.

J. EVARTS GREENE, A.B., read a report which had been prepared by him and adopted by the Council as a part of their report.

The Treasurer, NATHANIEL PAIN, Esq., reported in print.

The Librarian, Mr. EDMUND M. BARTON, read his report, and all these reports, as together constituting the Report of the Council, were accepted, and on motion of Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, referred to the Committee of Publication, with authority to publish the same, more or less in full, at their discretion.

The RECORDING SECRETARY communicated to the Society the Council's recommendation of the following gentlemen for election to resident membership:—

Hon. EDWARD J. PHELPS, LL.D., of Burlington, Vt.

Hon. WILLIAM W. HENRY, of Richmond, Va.

CARROLL D. WRIGHT, A.M., of Reading, Mass.

Rev. ELISHA B. ANDREWS, LL.D., of Providence, R. I.

EDWARD EGGLESTON, D.D., of Joshua's Rock, Lake George, N. Y.

Mr. WILBERFORCE EAMES, of New York City.

Who were all, by separate ballots, unanimously elected.

Also the following for foreign membership:—

The DUKE OF VERAGUA, of Spain.

Mr. HENRY HARRISSE, of Paris, France.

JOHN G. BOURINOT, D.C.L., of Ottawa, Canada.

Professor J. CONRAD, of Wittenberg, Germany.

Professor P. VINOGRADOFF, of Moscow, Russia.

By vote of the Society, the SECRETARY was instructed to cast a yea ballot for all the names, and these gentlemen were accordingly elected.

In the discussion of the Report of the Council, Dr. JUSTIN WINSOR said:—

“ We have in the graduating class at Cambridge, a young gentleman who has mastered the Spanish language, and has been very much interested in the Southwestern Spanish-American history. He attracted the attention of Professor Channing, who came to me about it, and Mr. Channing and I plotted a scheme by which he might do some original work. One of the most important of the documents which exists, relating to Coronado's expedition, is that of Castaneda. It has never been published in Spanish; scholars have it only in a French translation, in the Ternaux-Compans collection. I knew that Mr. Lenox had a copy of the manuscript, and I supposed that it was in the Lenox Library. I wrote to the trustees, to request permission to have a copy made, in order that this young man might publish it in Spanish. Much to my gratification, the Lenox trustees consented. As a sequel to that, I happened to write about this proceeding to Mr. Fewkes, who is the general agent of Mrs. Hemenway in her Southwestern matters; and the result has been that this young gentleman, immediately upon graduating, goes upon the staff of the Hemenway Southwestern Expedition, and is sent to Seville, to make explorations in the archives there. I think by another year, if anybody likes to give us here a paper about Castaneda, he may be able to give information that scholars have never had before.”

Senator HOAR:—“ I move that the report of the Council be accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication, with authority to publish it, more or less in full, at their discretion.

“And in making that motion, Mr. President, I would like to call attention to one want of the Society, which is a very simple one, which will be understood by everybody. It appears, by the report of the Treasurer, that less than two hundred dollars was expended for the purchase of books during the last half-year; and from the report of the Librarian, that the accession of bound volumes from all sources, was between six and seven hundred. Now I do not wish to be classed among that somewhat uncomfortable body of men who distinguish themselves by suggesting how other people shall dispose of their money. But I think it is very well that the members of the Society, and the public at large who are interested in it, should observe that, while the funds of the Society have been admirably managed, and were never in a better condition as to productiveness and as to security; and while the library itself was never so useful to the public and to historical investigators as it is now; yet that that usefulness is very much impaired from the fact that we have not a small fund, the income of which might be devoted by the Librarian to purchasing, at his discretion, after taking counsel with the Committee on the Library, some books. Historical investigators, who go to our Library, and find something which can be found nowhere else in the country, or useful in the prosecution of their special inquiry, are obliged to interrupt the study in the middle, and go to the city library, or to some library elsewhere, because they find some very common and ordinary encyclopædia, or recent historic publication, is not to be found there. So that it costs two or three days’ visit to the Society, for what could be done, if these things were there, in a few hours. And so they find sets of important magazines, or proceedings of other historical societies, or other important works, imperfect, and the Librarian is not able to avail himself of opportunities which frequently occur to perfect our rare sets, even at a very small cost. Now the use and value of our Library to the public for

historical studies would be multiplied many fold if we could have a fund which would afford even a few hundred dollars a year. It would enable the Librarian to avail himself of such opportunities, and to keep the Library supplied with such publications in our own department of science as are not given by the authors or other donors, and still are indispensable to the convenient prosecution of investigation in the Library. I hope that the members of the Society, and others, will see to it that when the proper occasion comes this want may be to some extent supplied."

President SALISBURY :—"The suggestion made by Mr. HOAR is very opportune, and I hope it will be remembered."

Mr. CHARLES A. CHASE :—"One item in the Librarian's report seems to deserve further mention. I allude to the fact that in Worcester this year have been celebrated the centennial anniversaries of two organizations which gentlemen who were afterwards members of this Society were prominent in establishing. One was a masonic lodge, founded by Isaiah Thomas, and the other was a fire society. The fire society was of the kind with which you are familiar, such as existed in Charlestown, Concord, Boston and other places, founded before the days of any fire department or other public means of extinguishing fire, generally by the solid citizens of the town, for the mutual protection of their property. I think we have at Worcester the only survivor of those organizations. The introduction of municipal fire departments with improved apparatus made them unnecessary ; but the one at Worcester is still in existence, and its members are all required, under severe penalties, to keep and maintain in perfect order the same utensils, to wit, two fire-buckets, two large canvas bags, a bed-key and a screw-driver,—which constituted the outfit of one hundred years ago. Its functions to-day, however, are social and literary rather than 'anti-pyretic.' And I am led to speak of this thing not only from the fact that some of the original members became members of this Society,

but also because we are to-day represented by at least twenty of the thirty members of this organization. Our President—~~and~~ ^{now} of ~~Henry~~ ^{John} ~~Ballou~~ ^{Ballou}, who was for sixty years a member of the Fire Society, and grandson of ~~Henry~~ ^{John} ~~Ballou~~ ^{Ballou}, who was an original member,—acted as Moderator at the recent anniversary. I may also mention that as the Agent for the occasion, the Fire Society was instrumental in securing the senior Senator of Massachusetts in the United States Senate, and as Post, the gentleman who at the time he was appointed, was Minister of the United States to Switzerland.—In other words, our senior Vice-President and our Recording Secretary. That is rather a remarkable fact, and one in which the Fire Society of course congratulates itself. It might be further stated that there has hardly been a time during the last hundred years when, if that society had wanted an orator and poet, they would not have been able to put into those positions ~~experienced~~ ^{very} ~~other~~ ^{more} ~~competent~~ ^{competent} ~~persons~~ ^{persons} of the Commonwealth. Judges of the Supreme or the Superior Court, Delegates to Congress, or Mayors of the City of Worcester. This is quite a unique history."

The President then put the motion of Mr. HOKE, that the Report of the Auditor be referred to the Committee on Privileges, and it was unanimously adopted.

Mr. ANTHONY M. DAVIS.—"I should like to ask the Council a single question with reference to the Treasurer's report. I see that the Society has at the present moment \$12,000 in personal property. Now it is known in the State of Massachusetts who has the right of ownership of colonies of ants described as a specific sort. I see no reason for such a claim, but I wish to ask the Council whether there is any necessity for further legislation on this point, or whether they are at the present moment within the limit stated by the law."

Mr. HOKER.—"I think we dealt with that subject a few years ago, but I belong to so many societies where such

questions come up that I am not quite sure that my memory is correct. Of course Mr. DAVIS understands that nothing would happen if we got beyond our limit,—that is, no person could take advantage of it. If we acquired a million dollars, we should hold it as against all the world, unless the State of Massachusetts should, through their attorney-general, interfere by a process of *quo warranto*; and in that case we should be obliged to get legislative authority or to dispose of our surplus funds. I think it is a very timely inquiry, and no doubt the Council will see that, if we need any further authority, it is obtained."

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN:—"I wish to mention a fact, in order to have it placed on record. Two years and a half ago, it fell to my lot to write the Council's report, and in preparing the necrologies at that time I could not obtain the date of death of a member who belonged in South America. I wrote to Buenos Ayres, where he lived, and it was only within a few weeks that I received a reply. The member referred to was Dr. GUILLERMO RAWSON, a man of Massachusetts origin, who died in Paris, according to the letter just received, on February 2, 1890."

President SALISBURY:—"During Mr. HOAR'S visit to London in the summer of last year, he requested our associate, Mr. SAINSBURY, to prepare a paper for the Society, on the public Record Offices. Mr. SAINSBURY has most obligingly complied with the request, sending us a paper which I will ask the Recording Secretary to read."

After the reading of Mr. SAINSBURY'S paper, Mr. WINSOR said:—

"Mr. President, it seems fitting that we should make some recognition of this valuable paper, and I would move that the thanks of the American Antiquarian Society be transmitted to Mr. SAINSBURY for his paper, which he has so kindly sent to us. And I might say, in making that motion, that there is no man in the Public Record Office in London to whom American scholars have been so largely

indebted as to Mr. SAINSBURY. He has had the peculiar charge of those papers in that office which relate to the history of America, and I know a score of instances where he has been of the utmost service to those who have been investigating there."

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE:—"I second that motion. It is thirty-four years since I made Mr. SAINSBURY's acquaintance, going to him with a commission from Mr. Bancroft, and another from Dr. Palfrey. And the promptness and delicate accuracy of his information struck me at the moment. Ever since, he has honored me with his friendship, and permitted me to correspond with him, and I know how very largely gentlemen who have been engaged in the study of our history must have been indebted to him."

The motion was put by the PRESIDENT, and carried by a unanimous vote.

President SALISBURY:—"The Society is particularly fortunate to-day in having communications from two English brethren and associates. Through the kindness of Mr. HAMILTON A. HILL, a communication is offered us from Mr. CHARLES H. FIRTH, of Oxford. I will ask Mr. HILL to read a portion of it."

Mr. HAMILTON A. HILL:—"Two or three years ago, while on a visit to England, I had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of Mr. FIRTH, with whom I had previously had some correspondence. Mr. FIRTH was at that time, and I think is still, president of the Oxford Historical Society, which has done a great deal of good work. He is also recognized in England as one of the first authorities as to seventeenth-century history. In the course of conversation with him, I found that he had recently been gathering a great deal of information in reference to Thomas Harrison, the regicide, and he had become satisfied that Thomas Harrison the regicide had no direct descendants in this country. Having heard what had been stated to the contrary here, I told him I would write to the United

States and endeavor to obtain some information which might strengthen or change his conviction. When I reached London, I wrote to our honored associate, Mr. HOAR, told him what I had heard at Oxford, and asked him for such authorities as would be useful in following the matter out; and in due course of mail I received an answer which I communicated to Mr. FIRTH. Mr. FIRTH has now prepared a paper on Thomas Harrison, which gives all the latest information, in reference to his marriage especially, and to the family with which he was connected. The paper is a long and exhaustive one, and I shall only read a few brief extracts from it. Mr. FIRTH, I may say, is the author of the article on Thomas Harrison in the *Dictionary of National Biography*."

Mr. WINSOR:—"I was walking on the Thames embankment two or three years ago, and a gentleman stopped me and said, 'I want to tell you that I have just discovered the documentary evidence which connects your President Harrison with Thomas Harrison the regicide.' That gentleman was Mr. William G. Thorpe, a barrister of the Middle Temple, whose book on 'Reminiscences of the Middle Temple' has recently been published. I think he is a Fellow of the Royal Antiquarian Society. I do not know what his documentary evidence was, but he thought that he had it."

Mr. HOAR:—"I was once sitting next to President Harrison, and spoke to him about this tradition, that he was descended from the Regicide. He said very carefully that a kinsman of his, whom he named, had made some inquiries into it, and had satisfied himself that it was true; but President Harrison conveyed to my mind the idea that he did not himself believe it, or, at any rate, was not prepared to say much about it. I also remember that, I think in Bishop Meade's book,—at any rate, somewhere in the *Virginia Historical Collections*,—is the epitaph of the ancestor of our signer of the Declaration of Independence,

Benjamin Harrison, in the county where the Harrisons settled. I should think it was probably his grandfather, though I am not sure of the relation. The epitaph is that of a person who died about 1700, and who would therefore have been either the son or the grandson of the Regicide, if that had been his descent. And that epitaph dwells upon the loyalty of the person as a special characteristic, as if he were a person famous for loyalty to his sovereign; which would not be very likely to be the case in a son of Thomas Harrison. So I suppose that Mr. FIRTH's conclusion must be accepted by all of us."

On motion of Col. THOMAS W. HIGGINSON, it was voted that the papers which had been read be referred to the Committee of Publication.

Dr. HALE moved the thanks of the Society to Mr. FIRTH for his very interesting and suggestive paper. Voted unanimously.

Mr. NATHANIEL PAINE said:—

"At a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, held in December last, our associate, Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN, made remarks regarding the practice of reproducing early newspapers in facsimile, and spoke of the liability of those not familiar with the originals to be deceived thereby. As is well known, the *Massachusetts Spy* was first published in Boston, the first number having been printed July 17, 1770. It was a single sheet, printed in two columns, about eight by ten inches in size, and begins with the prospectus of the publisher, Isaiah Thomas, the founder of the American Antiquarian Society; then follow a column and a half of European intelligence under date of May 5th, half a column of American intelligence, a few paragraphs of general and local news, and the death notices. Among the latter, appears the name of Mrs. Elizabeth Royall, of Medford, 'the virtuous and amiable Consort of the Honorable Isaac Royall, Esq.' A reproduction was published by the proprietors of the *Spy*

in their paper of July 22, 1870, with a notice of the reprint. Another edition, however, was issued in separate form, and although not an exact facsimile in typography, was, in general appearance, a reproduction of the original issue, and there was no inscription or explanation to indicate that it was not printed at the date which appeared upon it.

"There was also printed at the same time a facsimile of the *Massachusetts Spy* of May 3, 1775, the first thing printed in Worcester. This reproduction was made from a copy of the original owned by the American Antiquarian Society, upon which was the inscription in the handwriting of Mr. Thomas, 'This newspaper is the first thing ever printed in Worcester.' I have known of this facsimile being shown as an original, and claimed to be so because of the so-called autograph of Isaiah Thomas. This paper contains a notice of the fight at Lexington, which was one of the first printed accounts of that event. The same month, the Provincial Congress voted that a narrative of the battle be printed, and this was done by Mr. Thomas, at Worcester, under the authority of Congress, and was the first book or pamphlet printed there. In the *Spy* of July 17, 1776, the Declaration of Independence was printed for the first time in any newspaper in New England.

"The paper of the previous week, had announced that 'It is reported that the Honorable Continental Congress have declared the American Colonies *independent* of the monster of imperious domination and cruelty, Great Britain,—We hope it is true.'

"Congress voted that copies of the Declaration be sent to the several Assemblies, Convention Committees, or Committees of Safety, and as soon as they could be printed, they were sent to the different States, by special messengers. The Massachusetts messenger, on his way to Boston, reached Worcester the 13th or 14th of July, and it is supposed was intercepted by Mr. Thomas and a copy

of the important document procured. Although Mr. Thomas was not at that time the publisher of the *Spy*, having leased his interest in it to other parties the previous month, he was on a visit at Worcester, and with true journalistic enterprise secured a copy for the paper, and also read it for the first time publicly in New England, from the porch of the Old South Meeting-house. As has been said, the Declaration was published in the *Spy* of July 17th and, strange to say, without editorial comment. The day after its publication in Worcester, it was read from the balcony of the State House in Boston. This number of the *Spy* was reproduced in 1876, by the Campbell Printing Press Co., of New York, for distribution at the International Exhibition at Philadelphia, in form and general appearance like the original, and, although not strictly a facsimile, at some future time, when age shall have discolored the paper, it may be looked upon as an original; hence it seems worth while to call attention to it.

"The first Worcester Directory, published in 1829 by Clarendon Harris, was reproduced in 1872, by Tyler and Seagrave of Worcester. It was a small 12mo pamphlet of twelve pages, with a list of the principal streets and the names of the occupants and owners of the buildings. It was printed to accompany a map of the village of Worcester, published the same year. This publication has printed upon the back of the title-page the statement that it is a reprint, but otherwise is as accurate a facsimile as the type in the possession of the publishers could make it. This reproduction might deceive the inexperienced, especially if the two or three lines on the back of the title-page were erased by one wishing to deceive.

"Mention of these reproductions is made as supplementary to Dr. GREEN's remarks, in the hope that it may be of use to the future collector."

Hon. EDWARD L. DAVIS:—"I understand Mr. PAINE to say that it was supposed that Isaiah Thomas secured a

copy of the Declaration of Independence from the messenger who passed on his way from Philadelphia to Boston, and that it was thus published by Isaiah Thomas for the first time in any newspaper. The tradition that has come down, and that we boys in Worcester have grown up to believe, is this: that Isaiah Thomas himself did secure that Declaration of Independence, or a copy thereof; that he did read it personally from the steps of the first meeting-house in Worcester, to wit, the Old South."

Mr. PAINE:—"I never heard it disputed."

Mr. WILLIAM E. FOSTER:—"In a paper presented by me at the semi-annual meeting one year ago, I in one place used the language 'a Royal Academician,'¹ referring to John Smibert. It is true that, as the foot-note indicates, this language was based on Walpole's words, 'admittance into the academy' (Walpole's 'Anecdotes of painting in England,' vol. 2, p. 673); but inasmuch as the Royal Academy of Arts dates from a later period, it is plain that Walpole's language must be taken as referring to some one of the various 'academies' which he elsewhere mentions (Walpole, vol. 2, pp. 647, 665, etc.)."

Dr. HALE:—"I believe I am the person who had the good fortune to find in the library of the Historical Society the broadside, which appears to be the original broadside, of the Declaration of Independence. They had it in a collection of Fast-Day Proclamations which I was looking through. I think Mr. WINSOR has studied the document, and I hope he will perhaps tell us something about it, and where it may have come from. I have always thought it rather curious and interesting that they should have had one of those broadsides, which are rather rare. I rose, however, to speak about buffaloes, in connection with what was read in the interesting report on the Santa Fé Trail. The popular statement made in the press is that there are

¹ *Proceedings at Semi-Annual Meeting, April 27, 1892*, p. 111.

now eighty-three buffaloes in the United States. But I had the good fortune, a fortnight ago, by the kindness of Dr. Goode, who has charge of the national zoölogical park at Washington, to see the buffaloes there; and I cannot help thinking that gentlemen who visit Washington will be glad to know that there is so remarkable an exhibition there. I was in New York only a fortnight before, and, standing by the great glass case where they have their buffaloes, magnificently mounted, I said to my friend, 'this is seeing more of buffaloes than I could have seen if I had gone on the trail to Santa Fé.' And I really supposed that I never should see a buffalo to such advantage. But being at Washington, I found that there they have not the ordinary zoölogical tramping-ground; but these fine creatures are in a lot of several acres; they do not dislike men, and they come down to the wire fence which encloses them, and you can see them without being trampled under their feet. This led me to ask Dr. Goode how many there are in America, and he said that the present estimate is that there are rather over a thousand. There are two or three herds of wild buffaloes, which are still known; there are a great many preserved as these are preserved in Washington; and he seemed to think that the tide had turned, and that henceforward the number would increase. I asked him about their native land. He says there were a good many of them in Virginia when Smith landed there, and that undoubtedly, on the banks of Rock Creek there used to be plenty of them. They are therefore in their original state there."

Mr. HAYNES:—"Did Dr. Goode tell you how far he believed they had ever been toward the northeast?"

Dr. HALE:—"I asked him distinctly about it. He was pretty clear that they were never in New England."

Mr. HAYNES:—"I ask because, as gentlemen will remember, the matter was called up in connection with an interesting scientific discussion which arose upon the dis-

covery of some teeth on the banks of the Kennebec River."

Mr. WINSOR:—"Is there evidence that they were east of the Alleghanies in Virginia?"

Dr. HALE:—"He said there was. He spoke as if Smith and all of them had seen buffaloes."

Mr. HAYNES:—"There is a monograph on the subject published by a gentleman who went from Hartford to the New York Museum,—Mr. Joel A. Allen."

Dr. HALE:—"I had a fancy, in reading Pike's narrative, that Pike did not break his heart when he was arrested; and I have always suspected that he might have had orders from Jefferson, or from some one at headquarters, to get as near the Spaniards as he conveniently could, and if he happened to be arrested not to make too much fuss about it, but to take the opportunity to go down the Rio Grande. Did that ever occur to you?"

Mr. GREENE:—"I have not read his narrative with special reference to that question. As I said, there was something mysterious and inexplicable in reference to some of his conduct there. Among other things, it seems impossible to me that he should have supposed, as he said he did, that he was on the headwaters of the Red River. It seems as if one who had had his experience in travelling could not have missed knowing when he passed the 'divide' between the valley of the Mississippi and the valley of the Rio Grande."

Dr. HALE:—"I read his book with a great deal of interest, a good many years ago. In telling of the arrest, he says that the Spaniards told him that they must take away his arms. Well, then he struck an attitude and said 'No American soldier permitted his arms to be taken away, and that his men would die first.' So they said, 'Very well; we will leave you your guns and you can carry them all the way. But we will take away your powder.' This seems to be drawing rather a delicate line, but it answered. Pike availed himself of this permission, and

every night, as soon as he was alone, he wrote the journal of the day and rammed it down the gun. They would not have let him keep any journal, but he carried this gun all the way to Mexico, and the result is that we have a careful daily journal of the journey down the river. There is a smack of satisfaction in Pike's account of the whole thing, as though Jefferson, or Wilkinson, might have told him that if he could find it convenient to come home by the way of the City of Mexico, they would like to have him. They wanted to know about the Rio Grande quite as much as about the Arkansas, and whether the whole thing was not a bit of throwing dust into the eyes of the Spanish government is, I think, a very curious question."

The meeting then dissolved.

JOHN D. WASHBURN,

Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE committee to whom was intrusted the duty of preparing the Report of the Council have given such attention as seemed necessary to the present condition of the library. They find that the by-laws of the Society and the rules established by the Council relating thereto have been faithfully observed and enforced by the librarian and his assistants, by whom its affairs have been faithfully administered with adequate skill and unwearied diligence.

The Library is not less but perhaps more used than in former years by students of history and seekers of special information of a local or genealogical interest, who are aided in their quest by the prompt courtesy of the librarian.

During the half-year since our last meeting, the Society has lost seven members by death, an unusual number; most of them were men of great distinction and usefulness. One of them had been the president of the United States, and was illustrious while he lived and will long be held in honored memory, not only or chiefly because he had been raised to that high place by the will of the American people constitutionally expressed, but for the character which enabled him to fill his great office worthily, and after his retirement from it, made his private life honored and beneficent.

Another, one of the oldest of our members, as well as one of the most constant in his attendance at our meetings, and most helpful by his frequent and valuable contributions to our proceedings, while admired as one of the great scholars, preachers and instructors of his time, was even more beloved for his gracious benignity, which pervaded

his person, his speech and his conduct, inspiring with affectionate reverence, all who approached him.

Another, also one of our oldest members, had a world-wide reputation as a naturalist, whose researches, in geology especially, had sensibly enlarged the area of human knowledge.

Another, though his fame was less extensive, was held in high and well-deserved honor in his own city and beyond it, for his constant, zealous and faithful labors in the cause of science and history, and as the father of a noble institution of learning.

Andrew Preston Peabody was born at Beverly, Massachusetts, March 19, 1811. His father, a wise and useful man, was, for most of his life, the teacher of the public school in that town. He died when his son was only three years old, expressing on his death-bed the wish that the boy should be educated for the ministry. His mother seems to have pursued this object with uncommon zeal and success, and with the boy's cheerful and diligent co-operation, for at the age of thirteen he entered Harvard College as a junior, and was graduated in 1826, only fifteen years old, having held a good position in his class, but gaining no special honors for scholarship. He was then engaged for three years in teaching, in a public school in Middleton, as a private tutor at Meadville, Pennsylvania, and as principal of the academy at Portsmouth.

In 1829, he returned to Cambridge and entered the Divinity School, where he pursued his studies for three years, also acting as instructor in Hebrew for the last two years. After completing the course of theological study required, he was for one year mathematical tutor in the college, and was then settled as junior pastor of the church at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Scarcely two weeks after the church had thus provided an assistant for its aged pastor, the latter died and Mr. Peabody became sole pastor,

and so remained, serving his people acceptably, beloved and useful, for twenty-seven years, until 1860, when he was summoned to succeed the Rev. Dr. Frederic D. Huntington, as Plummer professor of Christian morals in Harvard College. Meanwhile he had found time for some other things without neglecting his pastoral duties. A year before he entered upon his ministry, and when he was only twenty-one years old, he had published a lecture on "Taxation," for he was fond of writing; he had an uncommonly well-stored mind for one of his years, and his mental faculties worked easily and accurately, evolving sound thought, and finding apt expression for it. Long before he was called to the professorship at Harvard, he had made a reputation as one of the most scholarly and elegant writers among the ministers of his denomination, whose clergy has always abounded in accomplished literary men. He very early began to write for the *Christian Examiner*, and continued to contribute to that and other periodicals. In 1853, when Professor Bowen retired from the *North American Review*, Dr. Peabody bought one-half interest in it and became its editor, and so continued for ten years. He often accepted invitations to deliver occasional addresses and sermons, many of which are of permanent value for their freshness and soundness of thought and felicity of style. Besides these, he published volumes entitled: "Lectures on Christian Doctrine," "Christian Consolations," "Conversation: Its Faults and its Graces," "Christianity the Religion of Nature," "Christianity and Science," "Sermons to Children," "Reminiscences of European Travel," "Christian Belief and Life," and two charming volumes of memories of Harvard College.

His duties at Harvard, beginning in 1860, comprised the preaching of two sermons each Sunday, conducting daily prayers in the college chapel, and giving instruction in Christian ethics. For a time, also, he took the place of the professor of political economy; at another time, he gave

instruction in logic, and for some years, he took charge of the forensics of the senior class. He was also the college pastor. The students were his friends, and his relations with them were more affectionate and intimate than is possible except for a man of a nature so sweet and sound as his. He retired from the active duties of his professorship in 1883, and since then his name has appeared in the annual catalogue as "preacher to the university and Plummer professor of Christian morals, *Emeritus*."

Dr. Peabody received the degree of D.D. from Harvard and that of LL.D. from the University of Rochester. He married, September 12, 1836, Catharine Whipple Roberts, daughter of Edmund and Catharine Whipple (Langdon) Roberts, who died October 14, 1869. They had eight children, of whom three daughters are now living.

Early in February last, Dr. Peabody, while standing at the head of a stairway at the Union Club in Boston, made a misstep and fell down the stairs, suffering a severe shock, from which, however, it was hoped at the time and for some weeks after, he would recover. But these hopes were futile. He declined steadily in strength and died peacefully at his home in Cambridge early in the morning of March 10th.

Dr. Peabody became a member of our Society at the annual meeting in 1856, and was elected a councillor in 1884. He prepared the Report of the Council twice,—October, 1885, and October, 1889, and has contributed to our Proceedings several papers of great historic and literary interest.

Though his years were many, Dr. Peabody's life was longer than the number of his years would denote, for his manhood began earlier than that of most men. The time which bears no record of visible achievement, being occupied with the sports and studies of boyhood, was, in his life, very short. As a teacher at fifteen, a student of theol-

ogy at eighteen, an instructor in Hebrew at nineteen, an author of published works at twenty-one, the settled pastor of a church at twenty-two, he was the associate and contemporary of men ten years his senior. Thus he sometimes surprised his friends of later years by speaking of his intimate association with men who had made their mark, which is legible to this day, in the community, and died leaving well-remembered names before he attained his majority. But his early maturity of mind and character was not the precocious growth which mocks by arrested development and untimely decay the promise of its opening years. It was the normal expansion under favoring conditions of a healthy and vigorous nature, continuing unchecked to the end of his long life. Some bodily infirmity attended him as he advanced in his fifth score of years, but his mind was as alert, his spirit as free as in his youth. All the precious gifts of age he had; almost all that makes youth enviable he retained.

A society devoted to the recovery, preservation and critical judgment of the materials of history, needs above all things else, members as learned, industrious, sagacious and impartial as Dr. Peabody. If such a member has also, as he had, a clear, refined style of expression, lacking neither grace nor force, and is, besides, the most faithful of friends, the wisest and most persuasive of councillors, the most genial and delightful of companions, his death is a loss that can never be measured. Such a loss this Society has suffered.

Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus
Tam cari capit is!

John Strong Newberry was born at Windsor, Connecticut, December 22, 1822. His father removed to Ohio soon after and became interested in coal mining. It is said that Doctor Newberry's first interest in natural science was awakened by his noticing the fossil plants of the roofing shales of his father's mines. He made a large collection of

these, some of which are still preserved in the museum of geology and paleontology which he founded for the Columbia College School of Mines. He was graduated from the Western Reserve College in 1846, and immediately began the study of medicine, and obtained the degree of M.D. from Cleveland Medical College two years later. He studied in Europe afterward, chiefly in Paris, and in 1851, returned to Cleveland and began the practice of medicine.

In 1855, he accepted the appointment of geologist and botanist with the expedition under the charge of Lieutenant Williamson of the army, to explore the country between San Francisco and the Columbia River. The study of the material gathered, and the preparation of his report occupied him for more than a year. That part of his report relating to the forest trees of northern California and Oregon is, I believe, a standard authority on its subject. From 1857 to 1859, he was attached to the parties of Lieutenant Ives and Captain Macomb, exploring the Colorado River and the region thereabout in Utah, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico and Arizona. He made extensive collections and wrote valuable reports on the geology of this extensive district. He was for a short time in 1857 professor of chemistry in Columbian University at Washington.

In 1861, Doctor Newberry became a member of the United States Sanitary Commission. He was the secretary of its western division, and performed invaluable service, having the general supervision of the business of the commission in the valley of the Mississippi. In 1866, he accepted and held until his death the professorship of geology and paleontology in the School of Mines of Columbia College, New York, where he increased his already very high reputation, as both a scientific and economic geologist. He was appointed director of the geological survey of Ohio in 1869, was one of the judges of building and ornamental stones at the Centennial Exhibition in

1876, and one of the palaeontologists of the United States Geological Survey in 1884.

Doctor Newberry was elected a member of our Society at the annual meeting in 1860.

He was an original member of the National Academy of Sciences, and of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, of which he was the president for two years. He was also for some years president of the New York Academy of Sciences, and of the Torrey Botanical Club, and a foreign member of the Geological Society of London, whose Murchison gold medal he received in 1888 for distinguished service to geological science. He received in 1867 the degree of LL.D. from Western Reserve College.

Doctor Newberry married in 1848 Miss Sarah B. Gaylord, who, with five sons and one daughter, survives him. He died at New Haven, where his home had been for the last ten years, during the night of December 7, 1892.

Henry Wheatland was born in Salem, Massachusetts, January 11, 1812, the son of Richard and Martha (Goodhue) Wheatland. He was graduated at Harvard in 1832, and received the degree of M.D. from the medical school in 1837, though he never practiced medicine. Like many other men who have attained great age, he seemed in his youth to lack vigor, and, after leaving college, made several voyages to South America and elsewhere for his health, accompanying his father, who was then a master mariner. In 1837, and for ten years after, he was superintendent of the museum of the Salem East India Marine Society. He had been secretary, cabinet-keeper and librarian of the Essex Historical Society, was one of the founders, secretary and treasurer of the Essex County Natural History Society established in 1833, and in 1848, succeeded in his purpose of uniting these societies in that flourishing and useful institution, the Essex Institute, of which he has been

described as the father, and of which he was for several years president. Doctor Wheatland was one of the original trustees and vice-president of the Peabody Academy of Science in Salem, an original trustee and secretary of the board of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology at Cambridge, a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, a Fellow and auditor for many years of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

He was elected a member of this Society at the semi-annual meeting in 1871.

Doctor Wheatland married, February 3, 1858, Mary Catherine, a daughter of Elisha and Catherine Sewell (Orne) Mack, of Salem, who died February 13, 1862, leaving no children.

Doctor Wheatland had solid ability, a kindly nature and unselfish public spirit. He devoted his life to the acquisition of scientific and historical knowledge, and especially to the advancement of those institutions by which such knowledge is gathered, preserved and diffused. I suppose that no one surpassed, if any equalled, him in the extent and accuracy of his knowledge of the local and family history of Essex County. He lived a modest and useful life, amid circumstances conducive to happiness. He enjoyed the deserved respect and affection of his townsmen and associates in scientific pursuits, and died peacefully in his native town, on the 27th of February, 1893.

Robert Cassie Waterston was born at Kennebunk, Maine, March 20, 1812. His father, Robert Waterston, came to this country from Edinburgh, Scotland, some years before, and the family removed to Boston when the son was four years old. The father became one of the most prosperous and respected merchants of Boston. Robert Cassie, having studied for some years at the Eng-

lish High School in Boston, was, at the age of fifteen, taken into a counting-room, in order to be trained for mercantile life. He had always a strong desire to be useful and was especially attracted to Father Taylor's work among seamen. He was helpful as a teacher there and gave his aid to other benevolent undertakings. While he was so engaged, his wish, long cherished, to prepare himself for the work of the Christian ministry led him to enter upon a course of study at the Divinity School at Cambridge, though he did not become a regular member of it, not having had the academic training required.

He was ordained in 1839, and became the successor of the Rev. Frederick T. Gray as pastor at the Pitts-street Chapel, and "minister-at-large," being the first, I believe, to whom that title was given in Boston. In this charge he remained until 1845, when, some little time after the Rev. James Freeman Clarke's settlement in Boston, a division took place in Mr. Clarke's congregation on account of his exchange of pulpits with Theodore Parker. The seceders invited Mr. Waterston to become their minister on these conditions, as stated by the *Christian Register*: "He must be in sympathy with the active share of the laity in carrying on the work of the society; he must not feel it his duty to exchange with Mr. Parker; he must have friends and supporters able and willing to advance the new movement." Mr. Waterston accepted the pastorate on these terms. The Church thus formed was styled the Church of the Saviour, and a costly meeting-house was built in Bedford street. The new society's fortunes seemed at first propitious, but financial troubles arose, and it was in 1854, united with the Second Church, the latter retaining its name and its pastor.

Mr. Waterston never afterward resumed the pastoral relation. He visited Europe twice, spending some time in Italy. On his second visit, he met the great sorrow of his

life, from which he never wholly recovered, in the death of his only child, a young girl of rare promise.

Mr. Waterston was for many years an active member of the Boston School Committee. He was a member of the Boston Society of Natural History and much interested in its work, and also a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. He received the honorary degree of A.M. from Harvard College in 1844. He was elected a member of this Society at the semi-annual meeting in 1871.

He married, April 21, 1840, Anna C. L. Quincy, the youngest daughter of President Quincy of Harvard College.

Mr. Waterston died at his home in Boston, February 21, 1893.

Horatio Gates Jones was born in Roxborough, a suburb of Philadelphia, January 9, 1822. He was the youngest son of the Rev. Horatio Gates Jones, D.D., the founder and for forty-eight years the pastor of Lower Merion Baptist Church of that place. The family was of Welsh origin, and Mr. Jones was all his life deeply interested in Welsh history and literature, and in the welfare of the people of that race in the United States. He spoke Welsh fluently, and had a valuable library of books printed in that language.

Mr. Jones received his early education in the public schools of Roxborough, at Haddington College and at the University of Pennsylvania, where he was graduated in 1841. He was admitted to the Philadelphia bar in 1847, and immediately began the practice of the law, which he continued throughout his life.

For eight years, beginning in 1875, Mr. Jones was a senator in the Pennsylvania legislature. But, except for this employment in the political service of his native State, such time as he could spare from his professional labors, and from the service of his religious society and Church, of which he was a deacon from early life, was given chiefly to

historical studies. Since 1848, he was a member of the Pennsylvania Historical Society; he was its secretary for eighteen years, and later, vice-president. He was also a member of the historical societies of many other States, and of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society. In 1877, he was elected an honorary fellow of the Royal Historical Society of Great Britain. He was elected a member of this Society at the annual meeting in 1867.

Mr. Jones wrote much on historical, biographical, scientific and educational subjects, and many of his papers, essays and addresses have been published in the transactions of the various societies with which he was connected, and elsewhere.

Mr. Jones married, May 27, 1852, Caroline Elizabeth Vassar Babcock, daughter of the Rev. Rufus Babcock, D.D., of Poughkeepsie, New York, who died March 7, 1889. No children were born to them. He died at his home in Roxborough, March 14, 1893.

Matthew Paul Deady was born near Easton, in Talbot County, Maryland, May 12, 1824. His father was a teacher and in 1828, removed to Wheeling, Virginia, to take charge of the Lancasterian school there. In 1837, he removed to Ohio, and young Deady lived on a farm for several years, and in 1841 went to Barnesville in the same State and worked there as a blacksmith, studying at the same time at Barnesville Academy, which then had a high reputation in that region. Four years later, he began the study of law at St. Clairsville, supporting himself meanwhile by teaching, and in 1847, he was admitted to the bar and began practice in the same place.

The spirit of adventure seized him in 1849 and he determined to make a new home and a career for himself on the Pacific coast. He crossed the plains by the Oregon trail, and in the spring of 1850, began the practice of law in Yamhill county, Oregon. His ability and trustworthiness were at

once recognized. In June of the same year, he was elected a member of the territorial assembly, of which he was one of the foremost members. The next year, he was elected to the territorial council, was made chairman of its judiciary committee, and in the year after, its presiding officer. He was appointed in 1853 an associate justice of the territorial supreme court, and held that office until the admission of Oregon to the Union in 1859.

He was a member and the presiding officer of the convention which framed the State constitution, and many features of that instrument were shaped by his hand, his recognized wisdom and uprightness and his power of argument and persuasion giving him a controlling influence. Among the provisions which were confessedly due to Judge Deady's suggestion or influence were those which require persons of foreign birth to declare their intention to become citizens one year at least before they are permitted to vote; which fix the official term of justices of the supreme court at six years, instead of four as was at first the purpose of the convention; which direct biennial sessions of the legislature and four years' tenure for administrative officers; which guard the State and municipal corporations against incurring improvident or excessive liabilities. His share in framing the fundamental law of Oregon illustrates the sober and conservative tendencies of his mind. He made further large contributions to the legal institutions of his State by preparing for the legislature, in 1862, a code of civil procedure, which was adopted with slight change, and is still in force, and two years after, a code of procedure in criminal cases, including the definition of crimes and their punishment, which was adopted without amendment and remains substantially unchanged.

At the first election under the constitution, Judge Deady was elected without opposition one of the justices of the supreme court; but, having been appointed United States district judge for the district of Oregon, he accepted the

latter office and continued in it until his death. He sat in the district and circuit courts, enjoying the absolute confidence of the bar and the public in his wisdom, learning, integrity and industry. Besides many oral opinions and decisions in the causes before him, Judge Deady prepared written opinions in more than three hundred causes during his occupancy of the bench. These included law, equity, bankruptcy and admiralty cases, and many of his opinions have been frequently cited as important precedents.

But, besides being eminent as a lawyer, magistrate and statesman, without whose influence in the plastic stage of its institutions and social conditions the State of Oregon would have developed otherwise, and we must believe less favorably, Judge Deady was also a public-spirited citizen of the town in which he lived, active and serviceable in all worthy efforts for the general good. Chief among the local institutions which owed their prosperity to his care was the Portland Library Association, of which he was president for many years. He was also president of the board of regents of the University of Oregon.

He was a devout member of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and was a delegate to its general convention which met in Baltimore last year. Through all the history of that Church in the Northwest, he was recognized as the foremost man among its laity, whose loyalty and devotion were as sure as his wisdom and ability.

Judge Deady was deeply interested and minutely versed in the facts pertaining to the development of society, industry and political institutions in the Northwest, and it was one of his cherished purposes to devote the leisure which he hoped for after his retirement from the bench, to writing a history of Oregon. No one was more competent for this work, and that he was not permitted to undertake and complete it is a cause of regret to the students of history, and to the people of the State of his adoption.

He was of great stature, considerably more than six feet

tall, and the robustness of his intellect and moral nature was in keeping with the symmetry and vigor of his body. His manner was courteous; he was eloquent and weighty in public speech, and in social intercourse charming.

He was elected a member of this Society at the annual meeting of 1889.

He married in June, 1852, Lucy A. Henderson, who, with three sons, survives him.

During his long judicial service, Judge Deady's labors were great and exacting, perhaps excessive, for he never spared himself. In 1889, he was attacked by a severe illness which confined him to his bed for a month, and he never fully recovered his strength. During the last two years his health visibly failed and relief from official labor was manifestly necessary. Since he would not have attained the age for retiring until next year, a special act of congress was passed allowing him to retire with full pay after the 4th of March, 1893. He would probably have soon availed himself of this relief, but death overtook him before he had decided upon the time of his withdrawal. He sat in court for the last time March 9th, was taken seriously ill on his return home, and failed rapidly until his death, March 24, 1893.

Our associate and vice-president, Senator Hoar, has kindly undertaken to prepare a sketch of the life of Ex-President Hayes.

For the Council,

J. EVARTS GREENE.

RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES.

BY GEORGE F. HOAR.

Rutherford Birchard Hayes was born in Delaware, Ohio, October 4, 1822. He died at Fremont, Ohio, January 17, 1893. He was elected a member of the American Antiquarian Society, October 21, 1890. He married, December 30, 1852, Lucy Ware Webb, the youngest child and only daughter of Dr. James Webb and Marie Cook Webb. Mrs. Hayes was born August 30, 1831, and died June 25, 1889. Of this marriage there were eight children, of whom five survived their parents.

Mr. Hayes was appointed by Governor Dennison, major of the Twenty-third Ohio Volunteer Infantry, June 7, 1861. He was appointed, September 19, 1861, by General Rosecrans, Judge-Advocate of the Department of Ohio. He discharged the duties of that office about two months. He was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, October 24, 1861. March 13, 1865, he was promoted to the rank of brevet major-general, "for gallant and distinguished services during the campaign of 1864 in West Virginia, and particularly at the battles of Fisher's Hill and Cedar Creek, Virginia."

He was severely wounded in the left arm, below the elbow, at the battle of South Mountain, September 14, 1862. He was four times wounded in battle. It is stated by Adjutant-General Hastings that General Hayes was under fire sixty days in 1864. He was undoubtedly exposed to death at least one hundred days during the war.

He was elected a member of Congress, from Ohio, in the autumn of 1864, serving for a single term. He was chosen governor of Ohio in 1867, 1869 and 1875; was nominated

as the Republican candidate for the Presidency, at Cincinnati, in 1876, in which office he served for one term. Before his election, he declared his opinion that the President of the United States should not be re-eligible, and steadfastly refused to be a candidate for re-election.

It was the fortune of President Hayes to hold office under difficulties which never beset any other President. It was the task of Washington to inaugurate the government when the Constitution was an untried experiment, and every public department,—legislative, executive and judicial,—had to follow new and untrodden paths. Lincoln encountered a gigantic rebellion, and was obliged to discover in the arsenal of the Constitution weapons of offence and defence which had been unused and unknown until his time. But each of these presidents had the support of a people who understood perfectly that the life of the country was staked on the success of his administration. Each had great allies. Each could call upon every patriotic citizen for any sacrifice he should reasonably demand. But President Hayes was nominated against the wishes of both the great factions into which his own party was divided. His election came from their sulky acquiescence. When he was inaugurated, he could rely on the hearty support of no great national leader of his own party. The other party denied the validity of his election. Many of them refused him the courtesy of the ordinary use of his official title in common intercourse. The House of Representatives which preceded his inauguration was in the hands of his political opponents, and refused to make the customary appropriations for the support of the government. During his first two years, the House of Representatives contained a majority of the opposing party, and a minority of his own party who were hardly less hostile to him. In his last two years, both Houses were against him. Yet with all these disadvantages, he conducted the government with such quiet courage, with such unfailing wisdom, with an eye for

the public good, so single and sincere, that it has come to be the general verdict of his countrymen that his four years were as brilliant and successful and prosperous as any like period in our history. He had difficult questions to deal with in our foreign policy, in finance, and in civil administration. Under his direction, specie payments were resumed, the public debt was largely diminished, and manufacturing, commerce and agriculture flourished as never before. A new and humarer Indian policy was inaugurated. Difficult questions in our foreign relations were triumphantly settled, and such was the public satisfaction that he handed over the administration to a successor of his own political faith.

The records of this Society are not the place for a discussion of the great questions with which President Hayes and his counsellors had to deal. Perhaps it may not be deemed a violation of good taste if the present writer, to whom the Council has assigned the task of preparing this brief memoir, puts on record his own opinion,—based upon an intimate personal knowledge, and upon a friendship in which there was on the part of Mr. Hayes, as the writer believes, no veil or concealment,—that no more honest, disinterested, sincere man ever filled high public station in the service of the American people, and that few persons ever brought to a task of extraordinary difficulty a judgment sounder or a wisdom more unerring. All parties, as the writer believes, have now come to see that any other decision of the grave question on which the title of President Hayes depended than that which the Electoral Commission reached, would have led to the overthrow of this government within a generation. All parties now agree that the measures which the administration of President Hayes inaugurated to remove a large part of the civil service of the country from the arena of partisan strife were beneficent and healthy. All parties will now agree that the resumption of specie payments contributed largely to

the marvellous prosperity which this country has enjoyed. The student of our diplomatic history who reads the discussions of those four years will be struck alike by their far-sighted wisdom and ability, and the utter absence of any attempt at display, or getting from them any temporary popularity.

President Hayes had an able and efficient cabinet, one of them a highly valued and beloved member of this Society. But he largely impressed upon his administration his own personal quality.

One of the most gratifying facts disclosed by the experience of this country of popular government, is that the wives of the American citizens who have been called to the highest places in the republic have been found, with so few exceptions, equal to all the public and social demands of their exalted stations. It is very rare indeed, even when the husband has been raised from poverty and obscurity, and the marriage has taken place in early life, and both parties were of equally humble origin, that the wife has seemed out of place in the highest company.

Neither Mrs. Hayes nor her husband would properly be described as of humble origin, although nothing in the birth or education of either would have led them to expect, or prepare for in youth, anything but the simple and frugal life of American citizenship in an ordinary country home. She was born in Chillicothe, Ohio, where her father, Dr. James Webb, had been long in practice. He was a Kentuckian, and had lived in Lexington, Kentucky, where he died of cholera. He was visiting Lexington to complete arrangements for sending to Liberia slaves which were set free by himself and his father. After his death, his children freed them without condition.

The beauty, grace and uniform kindness of Mrs. Hayes made her an ornament of every company into which she came. Her kindly courtesy when she was mistress of the White House welcomed and rendered happy every visitor.

A smile, a grasp of the hand, the gift of one of the flowers in the cultivation of which she was an adept, constituted one of the pleasantest memories of American citizens, especially of women or young children, who went to the Executive Mansion, on what was perhaps the only visit to Washington they ever made. No ornament of costliest painting or sculpture ever lent a charm to the proudest European palace like that which abides in the White House from the memory of her sweet and gracious presence.

THE SANTA FÉ TRADE: ITS ROUTE AND CHARACTER.

BY J. EVARTS GREENE.

LESS than twenty years ago, a traffic, which had been carried on for half a century under conditions unique in North America, came to an end, or, to speak more strictly, though the traffic continued, its conditions, which had been mediæval, oriental and, for this century and continent, singular, became modern, American and commonplace.

The Santa Fé trade resembled that of the caravans of Africa and Western Asia in that it traversed a desert, or what was then so-called—the Great American Desert; it was also attended with dangers from the attacks of wild, marauding tribes. It differed from that, however, in the fact that there were no oases or inhabited stations on the long route, and in the contrast in the peoples and the conditions of life of the communities between which this traffic was conducted. At the eastern terminus was the rude, busy, enterprising, essentially modern and progressive life of our Western border, distinctively American, using that word, as we must so often, in default of an adjective denoting that which pertains to the United States. At the other end of the route, the social, industrial and political condition of the people was substantially unchanged since Spanish rule was established in Mexico by Cortes and his companions early in the sixteenth century, and with no prospect of a change for centuries to come. This remark applies, of course, to the conditions prevailing when the trade was begun and for many years afterward, but not so strictly to the last twenty-five years of its existence.

To one, familiar only with the life of the Eastern States, who thirty-five or forty years ago visited Kansas City,

which had then scarcely ceased to be known as Westport Landing, the sight of the huge wagons crowding the levee in early summer, with their drivers, short in stature, slouching in gait, dressed with a peculiar shabby finery and with swarthy, stolid, sinister faces, was extremely fascinating, and suggested thoughts of romantic and mysterious adventure. That sight has not been seen for nearly twenty years. The railroad, while vastly increasing the trade, has transformed it into a prosaic, ordinary traffic. The Great American Desert has vanished. The empty waste is sprinkled with cities, villages and farms. The buffalo is nearly extinct, the Indian is no longer nomadic or predatory, and Santa Fé is, from the business point of view, simply a station, more or less like other stations, on a branch of the great transcontinental railway.

The old Santa Fé trade has only an historical interest now, and in that sense it is, I trust, a proper subject for the attention of this Society.

The first Europeans to penetrate to the region traversed by the caravans of the Santa Fé trade were Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions, survivors of the company of Pamphilo Narvaez. After nine years of wandering from the shores of Florida, they arrived in 1536 at Culiacan, near the Pacific coast in Mexico. It does not appear that their devious route crossed the line of the Santa Fé trail. It was probably altogether south of the latter. But the story which they told of rich and populous cities in the region north of Mexico prompted the famous expedition of Coronado, who, setting out from Culiacan with a large force of Spaniards and Indians in 1540, wandered in New Mexico, wintered there, apparently not very far from Santa Fé, and in the spring set forth again towards the northeast in search of the city of Quivira, of whose greatness and riches he had heard surprising fictions.

I will not discuss the disputed questions concerning the identity of the places mentioned by Coronado in his narra-

tive of the earlier part of his journey. But I venture to offer a few suggestions in support of the opinion that its northeastern terminus was near that of what has been known in our time as the Santa Fé trail. Combining the account of Coronado in his third letter to the Emperor Charles V. with that of Captain Juan Jaramillo, one of his companions, whose itinerary is fairly definite, it appears that after travelling for many days across great plains, where they encountered marvellously vast herds of buffalo, and suffered much from thirst, they came, on the day of Saints Peter and Paul, to a river to which they gave the names of those Saints. Coronado briefly but graphically describes the prairie, which seems to have impressed him with awe and almost with dismay. "There is neither rock nor hill," he says, "nor tree nor shrub; nothing to arrest the eye, which seeks in vain for a limit to those endless plains as if gazing at the open sea."

They crossed the river, says Jaramillo, and advanced along its northern bank in a northeasterly direction for three days, when they came to an Indian village on a considerable affluent of this stream. The Indians resembled those they had before met on the plains, but were hostile to the latter. They ate buffalo's flesh raw, and their dwellings and clothing were made of buffalo skins, but they also cultivated maize. Travelling four or five days farther, they found successively, six or seven other Indian villages on other affluents of the river, and at last came to a village whose name, they were told, was Quivira. It was not a rich and populous city, but a miserable group of skin huts, like the others. Here Coronado remained twenty-five days, sending out parties which explored the neighboring country to some extent. He was told of other villages farther on, on the bank of a still larger river. He says the latitude of this place was forty degrees; that the country was well-watered by rivers, brooks and springs; that the soil was rich, deep and black; that the pasturage was

excellent; that the Indians cultivated maize; that there were plums in abundance like those of Spain, and excellent grapes. Jaramillo adds to these fruits, nuts and mulberries. Coronado pursued his quest no further, but returned, retracing for some distance the route by which he came, and arrived at Cicuye, whose site is supposed to have been some sixty or seventy miles to the eastward of Santa Fé, in forty days.

When I read the account of Coronado's expedition in the chapter on Early Explorations of New Mexico, contributed by our associate, Mr. Henry W. Haynes, to the "Narrative and Critical History of America," it seemed to me that there could be little doubt as to the northeastern limit of Coronado's explorations. Coronado's and Jaramillo's descriptions of the country traversed after they arrived at the river named by them for Saints Peter and Paul, precisely fit the valley of the Kansas or Kaw River, with which I was once very familiar, having made the land-office surveys of a part of it.

I infer that the Smoky Hill or main fork of the Kaw River was the river Saints Peter and Paul, because, besides other reasons, it is the only considerable stream flowing northeastward within reasonable distance of the place where Coronado, according to his previous and subsequent narrative, must have been. He came to the river, apparently, not far from the mouth of the Saline Fork, or Grand Saline, about sixty miles from the present site of Fort Riley. Following the course of the river on its north bank, he came, after three days or more, to an Indian village on a tributary of the river. Three days' journey over a level route would bring him to the confluence of the Republican Fork, where there would certainly be an Indian village, if anywhere. For there the bluff is high and steep on the north, sheltering the place below from the fierce and bitter winter winds. Wood is abundant; it is almost the first considerable growth of timber, except cottonwood and elm,

encountered by the traveller from the westward, and the bottom lands, broad and rich, required little labor to convert them into corn-fields. Continuing his journey for four or five days, he passed other villages in like situations, that is to say, on other branches of the river Saints Peter and Paul, and came at length to Quivira, not far, as I suppose, from the present site of Lawrence, and he was told of other villages beyond this on a larger river, which, if my theory is sound, must have been the Missouri.

The latitude of Lawrence is about thirty-nine and one-half degrees. Coronado says his limit was forty. Greater precision could scarcely have been expected. He says the country was well watered with rivers, brooks and springs. Anyone who had occasion to travel with wagons along the valley of the Kaw River before the era of bridges was painfully reminded of the fact that the streams are numerous, and, what is unusual in a region so level, springs are many and copious. I well remember two, which, if Coronado took the route which according to my interpretation of his narrative he says he did, he must have discovered and drunk from. One is a circular basin, ten feet or more in diameter and four or five deep, from which a stream, two or three feet wide, of clear, cold water flows to the river. Another, some twelve miles distant, we called the Seven Springs. For some distance along the foot of the bluff, streams of bright, cool water broke through the gravelly soil, and these uniting formed a delightful brook, which wandered through the wide bottom lands, a mile and a half, to the river, near where the town of Abilene now is. Both these springs are in the open prairie, unconcealed by tree or shrub, and no traveller through that valley could have missed them or resisted the temptation to drink of their waters; for the river is somewhat turbid, and its water, though wholesome enough, I believe, is not very palatable, having a slightly alkaline taste. The plums and grapes, mulberries and nuts are there. The quality of the plums varies much; those

from some trees are large, handsome and not ill-flavored. The grapes are abundant enough, but Coronado would not have written so confidently of their excellence if he had waited until they were ripe. The mulberries, ripening in June, were gone before his arrival, but Jaramillo probably recognized the trees. The nuts most abundant there are black-walnuts and pecans.

Coronado came to this river on the days of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, June 29th and 30th, according to the calendar of his Church. His journey of eight days or more down the river and his stay of twenty-five days at Quivira occupied him until the second day of August or later, so that Castañeda, who says that they arrived at Cicuye in August, after a return journey of forty days, must be in error, and Jaramillo, who fixes the time of their leaving Quivira at about the middle of August, is apparently correct.

The description of the province of Quivira fits the Kaw River country exactly. It will not fit any other nearly so well. Some portions of the Arkansas valley agree fairly well with the description, but the latitude is hopelessly wrong. The ~~Platte~~ River is more than a degree farther north; not so far that it need be ruled out on that score merely, but otherwise it is unlike Coronado's river of Saints Peter and Paul. It seems highly probable, therefore, that Coronado, though his route was not that of the Santa Fé trail centuries later, was the first white man who passed from one to the other of its terminal points.

From Francisco Vasquez de Coronado to Zebulon M. Pike is a long step, not only in time, almost three hundred years, but in the contrast between the sonority of the name of the Spanish knightly adventurer and the homely quaintness of that of the American soldier. But Lieutenant, afterward General, Pike was as adventurous, as intrepid, and as skilful a leader of men as the first explorer of New Mexico, and more honorable, just and humane. He was

the next person of whom we have certain knowledge, who passed from the Mississippi Valley across the desert plains to Santa Fé. A vague tradition asserts that, in the eighteenth century, trade was carried on to some extent between the French settlements on the Illinois River and New Mexico, and proof of it has been said to exist in the archives of the Spanish government of the province. It is said also, that in 1804 one Morrison of Kaskaskia sent a Frenchman named Lalande with goods for trade in Santa Fé, and that the faithless agent, having sold the goods profitably, neglected to account with his principal, lived prosperously in New Mexico and died there a rich man. These may be facts or fictions, but Zebulon Pike and his expedition pertain to the history of the Santa Fé trade, though he was a soldier and not a trader.

Having the year before conducted a successful expedition to explore the upper waters of the Mississippi, Lieutenant Pike was in 1806 directed by General Wilkinson to explore the country to the westward so far as the headwaters of the Arkansas and Red Rivers. Setting out from St. Louis, he went across the country to the Arkansas, and ascended that river to its headwaters, thence passed to the Rio Grande, some distance above Santa Fé. He built a small fort there, seeming to have believed that the stream was the Red River or one of its tributaries, and that he was within the territory of the United States. He was treach-²erously enticed from his little fortress by the Spaniards, made prisoner and sent back by way of Mexico to the United States. There was an appearance of mystery in some parts of his conduct on this expedition, and by some persons it was supposed to have a connection with the schemes of Aaron Burr, but Pike indignantly repelled this suspicion. He gave an interesting account of his expedition in his official report, in which, among other notable things, he writes of passing through vast herds of buffalo, elk and "cabri," and says he prevented the wanton

slaughter of these animals by his men, "not merely because of the scarcity of ammunition, but as I considered the law of humanity also forbade it." He would deserve to be honorably remembered for this, if for nothing else. Few of his fellow-countrymen in later years and in like circumstances have been so merciful. Zebulon Pike, then a brigadier-general, was killed in the battle near York, Upper Canada, April 25, 1813, just eighty years ago yesterday.

We come now to the actual beginning of the Santa Fé trade; but before treating of its history and its character let me give a brief description of its route. Its real eastern terminus was St. Louis, where the goods were purchased and the accounts adjusted. But the starting-point of the caravans was at first Franklin, a town about one hundred and fifty miles from St. Louis, on the Missouri River, afterward Independence, one hundred miles farther up the river, and finally Kansas City, known for some years as Westport Landing, Westport being a village five or six miles south of Kansas City on the State line, where for a time the forwarding-houses were established and the caravans made up for their journey of eight hundred miles. The route then was by steamboat from St. Louis to Kansas City, and by wagon from that place to Santa Fé. I may add that for a short time during the war of the rebellion, the starting-point of the caravans was changed to Leavenworth, Kansas.

Except for its lack of mountain and sea, a more beautiful and attractive landscape can scarcely be found anywhere, than that near the confluence of the Missouri and Kaw Rivers. In the late spring or early summer, it is especially charming, when the grass on the prairie is fresh and sprinkled profusely with flowers of many hues; when crab-apple thickets, many acres in extent, are covered with pink blossoms, surpassing in depth of color and delicacy of fragrance the bloom of our orchards; when the mignonette-like perfume of the wild grape and the subtle sweetness of the sensitive brier, a species of mimosa, with its flowers

like purple globes, sprinkled with gold-dust, entrance the senses like—

Sabeau odors from the spicy shore
Of Araby the blest.

The oppressive monotony of the wide prairie is broken by gentle slopes and deep ravines, well wooded with groves of stately oaks and walnuts, which form promontories of woodland, jutting out into the open-prairie sea; and graceful elms, tall cottonwoods and stately sycamores adorn the margins of the streams. Pleasant brooks wander through the valleys, and plenteous springs entice the wayfarer by the sparkle and murmur of their cool, sweet waters. The Mormons, who occupied for a time about 1833, a district of like character in the adjacent counties of Missouri, styled it the Land of Promise—the Garden of the Lord—and well they might.

Not much of the route, however, was of this character. Leaving the Missouri at Kansas City, it followed in general the high prairie divide between the valleys of the Kaw and the Arkansas Rivers. If ease of travel were the only consideration, the summit of the dividing ridge or plateau would be the best route, affording a direct, almost level road, absolutely without obstructions, for more than a third of the whole distance. But in order to have daily supplies of water, it was necessary to follow along the southern slope of the divide, far enough below the summit line to intercept the tributaries of the Arkansas near their sources. These streams, the Marais-de-Cygnes, Neosho, Cottonwood and others, were encountered at suitable distances for camping-places, about twenty miles, more or less, being a day's journey.

Of the three requisites for a camp—water, grass and wood—the second was scarcely ever lacking, and the third was superfluous after entering the buffalo range, its place being taken by "buffalo-chips" or dried dung, which, readily gathered and making a clear, hot fire, met perfectly all the

requirements of a summer-camp fuel. The route presents no difficulties; the early traders had some trouble through losing their way, but after the trail had been established, it was, without the expenditure of any labor in grading or otherwise, a broad, well-worn highway, as distinct and unmistakable as any road in Massachusetts, stretching away for eight hundred miles without being crossed by any other, with no permanent habitation of man near it, and without a hill or ravine so steep or other obstacle so formidable as to make lightening of loads or doubling of teams necessary. Beyond Council Grove, one hundred and forty-five miles from Kansas City, no timber except an occasional cottonwood or elm was seen until within a short distance of Santa Fé. The rivers crossed were the Arkansas, Cimarron, Canadian and Pecos.

Mr. Gregg, whose book entitled "Commerce of the Prairies," is the best authority on the early Santa Fé trade, says that when he made his first journey in 1831, buffaloes were not encountered until he had gone some distance beyond Council Grove. He says, also, that he never saw buffaloes so abundant as some travellers have represented, but only scattered herds, a few scores, hundreds and sometimes thousands, and that ten years later they were "very sensibly and rapidly decreasing." Fifteen years later still, I found the eastern limit of the buffalo range as nearly as possible where Gregg placed it; but, instead of finding them less abundant than some travellers had represented, their numbers seemed so vast that exaggeration would be scarcely possible.

The caravans were sometimes attacked and more often threatened by marauding Indians, but the danger, except of a loss of mules or cattle by stampede, was not great. Gregg writes, about 1842: "In the course of twenty years since the commencement of this trade, I do not believe there has been a dozen deaths upon the Santa Fé

route, even including those who have been killed off by disease, as well as by the Indians."

The first actual trading expedition to Santa Fé from the United States appears to have been that undertaken by Knight, Beard, Chambers and others in 1812. They followed Pike's route up the Arkansas and, meeting with no remarkable adventure, arrived duly, expecting to find the republic proclaimed by Hidalgo in 1810 fully established there. But they found the Spanish royal authority still recognized, were suspected of connivance with the revolutionists and were held as prisoners for nine years, until Iturbide established the republic in 1821 and set them at liberty.

In that year, Bicknell and others left Franklin, Missouri, with a small stock of goods, intending to trade with the Comanche Indians on the upper Arkansas. Having heard of a better market at Santa Fé, they went there, and sold their merchandise at a surprising profit. Until this time, all goods consumed in New Mexico which could not be produced there had been brought from Vera Cruz by pack trains, and the costs and risks of transportation were so enormous that common cottons sold for three dollars a yard and other manufactured goods at correspondingly high prices. When the St. Louis merchants learned that a practicable route gave them access to a market where their only competitors must sell at such rates, they did not long neglect their opportunity.

Captain Bicknell started again the next year with a larger stock, which he sold to advantage, but nearly perished on the route, having lost his way between the Arkansas and Cimarron rivers. This part of the route was most dreaded by the early traders. The distance between the rivers, as the trail was finally established, was about sixty miles. It was the only part of the whole journey in which more than one day's march must be made without water. Mr. Gregg regards Bicknell's expedition as the beginning

of regular traffic on the Santa Fé trail. Two years later, in 1824, wagons were first used in this trade, the previous means of transport having been pack animals. It was found that the natural highway offered no serious difficulties to the wagons, and thereafter they were almost exclusively used. Twenty-five are said to have taken the trail that year, carrying merchandise valued at twenty-five or thirty thousand dollars. The early traders went in small parties, each having a few hundred dollars' worth of goods. The Indians at first were not hostile, and Mr. Gregg says: "It is to be feared that the traders were not always innocent of having instigated the savage hostilities that ensued in after years." Whether he means by this equivocal expression that traders prompted Indian attacks upon their rivals, or, that some of them provoked by their insolent cruelty indiscriminate attacks upon all traders, does not clearly appear. Whatever the cause in this case, the history of our relations with the Indians shows that misconduct on one side or the other, or perhaps on both, will in such circumstances infallibly supply provocation. For several years, the traders suffered considerable losses of merchandise and cattle by Indian attacks. They applied to the government for protection, and in 1829 and 1830 a military escort was furnished. After that year, the traders seem to have adopted the policy of protecting themselves by proceeding in large companies with some organization, which they could the more readily do as the amount of trade rapidly increased. Each company, having, perhaps, forty or fifty wagons and more than one hundred men, chose a captain, who determined the order of march, the times of starting and halting, the place of encampment, and appointed lieutenants and sergeants, who commanded the guards, on which every able-bodied man was assigned to his share of duty. The captain had, also, a somewhat vaguely defined general authority, for which he commanded respect if he was a natural leader of men, and suffered it to

fall into contempt if he had not the gift of inspiring fear and respect. Later, as the trade fell into the hands of men of larger capital, each of whom fitted out a train of thirty wagons or more, the owner or his agent took command, and better organization and sterner discipline were enforced.

The volume of this trade is said to have averaged one hundred thousand dollars annually for the first fifteen years. After that it increased rapidly. Statistics, kindly supplied by my friend Theodore S. Case, of Kansas City, give the information that the first cargo of goods for the Santa Fé trade was landed at Kansas City in 1845, by William Bent and Ceran St. Vrain. In 1850, six hundred wagon loads went from Kansas City. In 1855, the goods shipped were valued at five million dollars. In 1860, the weight of the goods shipped from the same point was 16,439,000 pounds, employing in their transportation 9084 men, 6147 mules, 27,920 oxen and 3033 wagons. The first wagons used were made in Pittsburg. Those used later were built by Murphy of St. Louis, and known as Murphy wagons. They were large and heavy, each carrying a load of six thousand or seven thousand pounds and drawn by six yoke of oxen or ten or twelve mules. The oxen were bred in Missouri, the mules in New Mexico. The drivers of the wagons owned by New Mexican traders were usually Mexican Indians, those of the Missouri traders, or of freighters, who supplied teams and drivers and transported merchandise at the rate of twelve or fifteen cents a pound, were usually "American" in the restricted sense in which that word was used on the frontier, or sometimes Shawnee or Delaware Indians. The most peculiar part of their equipment was the formidable whip, its stock a good-sized, tough ash or pecan sapling nearly ten feet long, with a lash somewhat shorter, but fully two inches in diameter, ending in a buckskin thong. To wield this tremendous implement required all the strength of a man's loins. The driver did not flog his beasts with it, but cracked it with a heavy

flourish and a smart jerk. You would hear a sound like a pistol shot, and see a little mist of hair and blood start where the cruel thong had cut like a bullet.

The usual day's drive was from fifteen to twenty miles. At the appointed stopping-place the wagons were driven up in such order as to form a square enclosed space or corral, an entrance to which could be closed by stretching chains across it. At halting, often early in the afternoon, the cattle were watered and turned out to graze under the charge of herders. At night they were driven into the corral and the entrance was closed. In the early morning for some hours before starting they were turned loose again to graze. The men camped for the night outside the corral, but retreated to it for defence in case of a formidable attack by Indians.

The goods for New Mexico were cotton cloths (bleached and brown), calicoes, rich and showy silk shawls and dress patterns, millinery, *bayeta* (a heavy scarlet woollen fabric used for petticoats by the New Mexican women), sugar, coffee, soap, hardware, and, during the later years of the traffic, bottled beer, canned goods, mining machinery, and innumerable other things. The return cargoes consisted of buffalo robes, beaver and other skins and furs (collected by trappers and Indian traders), wool, gold from the placer mines thirty or forty miles south of Santa Fé, and silver from the mines of Chihuahua and elsewhere. The silver dollars, which formed a part of many return loads, were put up in peculiar quaint packages. The manner of packing them is thus described in a letter from Mr. Elias Brevoort, of Santa Fé, who has kindly supplied me with much information of great use in the preparation of this paper: "Silver dollars were dumped in quantities of about five thousand into or upon a green or fresh beef-hide, and done up by having a rawhide rope interlaced around the edge of the hide and drawn up tightly. Then a fire was built near it so as to shrink the hide solidly to its contents

to prevent friction of the coin." These packages were as hard and their contents as immovable as if the metal had been melted and poured into a mould.

One feature of the traffic, which gave it a speculative character, and perhaps added to its fascination for some of the adventurous traders, was the uncertainty as to the amount of duties which would be exacted by the Mexican officers of customs. The rates fixed by law were well enough known, but the doubt was how much of a rebate the officials would allow, and how much they must be paid for it. A convenient and generally satisfactory arrangement, said to have prevailed for some time, was that the trader should have one-third of the duty, the official one third, and the government the remainder. Governor Armijo, the last Mexican governor, at one time simplified the customs system by imposing by his own arbitrary authority a tax of five hundred dollars on each wagon-load of goods, in lieu of all other duties. The immediate effect was to make important changes in the character of the goods imported and in the methods of transportation. Instead of wagons carrying from one to two tons each, which had been in use up to that time, much larger wagons, carrying from three to three and a half tons, were used, and coarse and cheap goods were omitted from the loads. The perverse ingenuity of the "Gringos" thus frustrated the purposes of the governor, and he repealed his own tariff, which had been made without authority, and never had legal force. But Mexican officers generally had few scruples as regards usurping legislative authority, and Governor Armijo fewer than most; and the New Mexican public and others having dealings with its government had learned by experience to submit to the ruling powers without raising constitutional questions unless they were prepared for a *pronunciamiento*. Though Santa Fé was the chief market of this trade and the destination of most of the caravans, some traders took their goods direct to Taos,

Albuquerque, or other New Mexican towns, to Chihuahua, two hundred miles south, or even to Sonora, on the Pacific coast in Old Mexico, thus arriving at Coronado's starting-point.

The men engaged in this traffic were merchants of a peculiar stamp, not unlike the merchants and master-mariners of New England when discoveries were yet to be made by sea, and pirates, or other enemies not much better than pirates, were likely to be encountered. They were shrewd, prompt and daring, knowing their market well, but not averse from occasional rashly speculative ventures. Some of these, of whose mercantile achievements, as well as of their personal prowess and wild adventures, traditions still linger among the survivors of the time when the commerce of the prairie had a character of its own, were of French extraction, notably Felix X. Aubrey and Ceran St. Vrain. The former is remembered chiefly for his famous ride from Santa Fé to Independence, unequalled, I believe, in the annals of horsemanship. He had wagered that he would ride this distance, eight hundred and fifty miles, in six days, and actually performed the feat in five days and sixteen hours, riding his own horse one hundred and fifty miles and trusting to chance for relays for the rest of the journey. This achievement was commemorated by giving his name to a steamboat in the Missouri River trade, which I have often seen, proudly bearing at the head of its flagstaff the gilt figure of a horseman riding at full speed. Other famous rides were those of Mr. Elias Brevoort, an old Santa Fé trader, still living, whom I have before mentioned, who rode from Puerta de Luna to Santa Fé—one hundred and twenty miles—in sixteen hours, and from Doña Aña to Santa Fé—three hundred miles—in three days and three hours, the whole distance on one horse.

No one was better known on the plains from thirty to sixty years ago than Ceran St. Vrain. Traders, trappers, army officers, Indians, all either knew him personally or

by reputation. Shrewd, enterprising, impetuous, choleric and intrepid, he was courteous and charming in manners, and I have been told that in his house at Santa Fé all the conventional observances of polite society were carefully regarded, even to the point of appearing always at dinner in correct evening dress. His life was full of strange incidents and adventures, even beyond that of most prominent men of that region and time. He is said to have been born at Kaskaskia, or perhaps at Cape Girardeau, Missouri. In early life he entered the employment of the American Fur Company of St. Louis. With William Bent he established a trading-post in New Mexico, known as Bent's Fort, and another known as Fort St. Vrain. To these forts, trappers from all the labyrinth of mountains for hundreds of miles around resorted to dispose of their furs and renew their equipment. Kit Carson, James Bridger, Old Bill Williams, Vasquez and many others, the equals of these in their time, though their names are not remembered, were among those who made these forts their rendezvous. About 1845, Ceran St. Vrain removed to Santa Fé, and had great success as a trader.

He was one of those men about whose memory traditions gather, and innumerable anecdotes are told of him. Here is a specimen: As he was playing cards one day with a Spaniard, a dispute arose and the lie was given. They separated with the understanding that when they next met they would fight it out. The meeting took place in the street, which the general public quickly left clear to the combatants. Each drew his pistol, and at the first fire both fell. They lay in the street exchanging shots, each of which inflicted a wound, until their weapons were emptied, when they were helped to their feet, shook hands and were carried off to have their wounds dressed. Both recovered and were friends, bearing no malice. Two knights of Richard-of-the-Lion-Heart's train would have fought out their quarrel with other weapons, but in much the same spirit.

Jean Phillippe Chavez was another well-known trader of the same type, chiefly remembered, however, for his tragic fate while defending his train from the attack of a company of bandits from Missouri, who had organized the raid, knowing that he was bringing from Santa Fé a great quantity of silver. Chavez was killed, and the robbers are said to have carried away treasure to the value of two hundred thousand dollars.

This incident, too, has a mediæval flavor, though it occurred no longer ago than 1850, I believe. Several of the robbers are said to have been captured and hung. This was not the only instance of the kind; indeed, the attacks of robbers were among the recognized perils of the trade. The Jameses, Youngers and Fords, whom that part of Western Missouri has more lately produced, were the legitimate successors of the border banditti of the middle of this century.

It is almost as hard to fix with precision the end as the beginning of the Santa Fé trade in the form which I have tried to describe. The last train left Kansas City about 1866, and in successive years, the eastern starting-point of the caravans moved westward, following the progress of the railway. About fourteen years later, the locomotive thundered into Santa Fé and broke the spell which, for three centuries, had shut from the modern world, the city of the Holy Faith of Saint Francis.

In closing let me express my thanks for valuable aid in gathering materials for this paper, to my friends of many years, Major Hugh G. Brown, U. S. A., and Colonel Theodore S. Case, of Kansas City, both of whom with me saw something of this trade in 1857, and to Mr. Elias Brevoort, of Santa Fé, who, with great kindness, though a stranger, put at my disposal his intimate knowledge of my subject.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

THE Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society herewith submits his semi-annual report of receipts and disbursements for the six months ending April 1, 1893.

By direction of the Finance Committee there has been carried to each fund, from the income of the investments for the past six months, three per cent. on the amount of the several funds October 1, 1892.

The reserved "Income Fund" now amounts to \$1,129.05.

A detailed statement of the investments is given as a part of this report, showing the par and market value of the various stocks and bonds.

All stocks and bonds stand at par on the Treasurer's books, but at the present market value show an increase of \$9,500.00 over the par value.

The total of the investments and cash on hand April 1, 1893, was \$117,163.91. It is divided among the several funds as follows:

The Librarian's and General Fund.....	\$19,253.53
The Collection and Research Fund.....	18,780.52
The Bookbinding Fund.....	6,366.30
The Publishing Fund.....	25,222.48
The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund.....	7,347.40
The Lincoln Legacy Fund.....	5,304.52
The Prof. E. Thomas Local History Fund.....	1,082.75
The Stephen H. Long Fund.....	6,401.22
The Allen Fund.....	1,182.57
The Tracy Fund.....	3,080.00
The Hovey Fund.....	1,164.47
The George C. Page Fund.....	356.43
The Francis H. Davis Fund.....	2,054.24
Postage Account.....	56.53
Interest Account.....	1,129.05
	\$117,163.91

The cash on hand, included in the following statement, is \$4,715.64.

The detailed statement of the receipts and disbursements for the past six months, ending April 1, 1893, is as follows:

DR.

1892.	Oct. 1.	Balance of cash as per last report,	\$2,286.28
1893.	April 1.	Received for interest to date,	2,692.80
"	"	Received for annual assessments,	55.00
"	"	Received from sale of books and pamphlets,	81.60
"	"	Mortgage notes paid,	14,000.00
"	"	Bank tax refunded,	888.32
"	"	From Stephen Salisbury, Edw. L. Davis, and Geo. F. Hoar, for Stevens's fac- similes	100.00
			<hr/>
			\$19,604.00

GB.

By salaries to April 1, 1893,	\$1,802.54
Expense on account of publication,	470.70
Books purchased,	198.17
For binding,.....	70.95
Incidental expenses,.....	107.87
For Insurance,	60.00
Invested in Mortgage Notes, and other Securities.	11,250.00
Premiums on Bonds,	928.18
	<hr/>
	\$14,888.96
Balance in cash April 1, 1893,	4,715.64

CONDITION OF THE SEVERAL FUNDS.

The Librarian's and General Fund.

Balance of Fund, October 1, 1892,	\$89,397.08
Income to April 1, 1893,	1,181.91
Transferred from Tenney Fund,	150.00
	<hr/>
	\$40,728.94
Paid for salaries,	\$1,227.54
Incidental expenses,	107.87
For Insurance,	60.00
	<hr/>
	\$1,395.41
1893, April 1. Amount of Fund,	\$89,382.53

The Collection and Research Fund.

Balance October 1, 1892,	\$18,926.53
Income to April 1, 1893,.....	606.46
	<hr/>
	\$19,532.99
Expenditure from the Fund for salaries and incidentals,..	566.06
	<hr/>
1893, April 1. Amount of Fund,	\$18,950.93

The Bookbinding Fund.

Balance October 1, 1892,	\$6,441.02
Income to April 1, 1893,.....	196.33
	<hr/>
	\$6,637.35
Paid for binding,.....	70.95
	<hr/>
1893, April 1. Amount of Fund,	\$6,566.30

The Publishing Fund.

Balance October 1, 1892,	\$23,656.43
Income to April 1, 1893,.....	709.75
Publications sold,.....	22.00
	<hr/>
	\$24,400.18
Paid on account of publication,	470.70
	<hr/>
Balance April 1, 1893,.....	\$23,929.48

The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund.

Balance October 1, 1892,	\$7,133.40
Income to April 1, 1893,.....	214.00
	<hr/>
	\$7,347.40

Balance April 1, 1893,

\$7,347.40

The Lincoln Legacy Fund.

Balance October 1, 1892,	\$3,402.45
Income to April 1, 1893.....	102.07
	<hr/>

Balance April 1, 1893,

\$3,504.52

The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund.

Balance October 1, 1892,	\$1,062.67
Income to April 1, 1893,.....	30.98
	<hr/>
	\$1,093.65
Paid for books,.....	.90
	<hr/>
Balance April 1, 1893,	\$1,092.75

The Salisbury Building Fund.

Balance October 1, 1892,	\$4,796.83
Income to April 1, 1893,	143.89
Balance April 1, 1893,.....	\$4,940.22

The Alden Fund.

Balance October 1, 1892,	\$1,185.63
Income to April 1, 1893,	36.57
	<hr/>
	\$1,221.20
Paid on account of cataloguing,.....	33.83
Balance April 1, 1893,.....	\$1,187.87

The Tenney Fund.

Balance October 1, 1892,	\$5,000.00
Income to April 1, 1893,	150.00
	<hr/>
	\$5,150.00
Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund,.....	150.00
Balance April 1, 1893,.....	\$5,000.00

The Haven Fund.

Balance October 1, 1892,	\$1,140.26
Income to April 1, 1893,	34.21
	<hr/>
	\$1,174.47
Paid for books,.....	30.00
Balance April 1, 1893,.....	\$1,144.47

The George Chandler Fund.

Balance October 1, 1892,.....	\$538.55
Income to April 1, 1893,	16.16
Chandler Genealogy sold,.....	6.00
	<hr/>
	\$560.71
Paid for books,	4.28
Balance April 1, 1893,	\$556.43

The Francis H. Dewey Fund.

Balance October 1, 1892,	\$2,400.94
Income to April 1, 1893,	72.00
	<hr/>
	\$2,472.94
Paid for books,.....	18.00
Balance April 1, 1893,	\$2,454.94
Total of the thirteen funds,.....	\$115,978.53
Balance to the credit of Premium Account,.....	56.83
Balance to the credit of Income Account,.....	1,129.05
April 1, 1893, total,	\$117,168.91

STATEMENT OF THE INVESTMENTS.

No. of Shares.	STOCKS.	Par Value.	Market Value.
6	Central National Bank, Worcester.....	\$ 600.00	\$ 894.00
22	City National Bank, Worcester.....	2,200.00	3,256.00
10	Citizens National Bank, Worcester.....	1,000.00	1,350.00
4	Boston National Bank.....	400.00	440.00
6	Fitchburg National Bank.....	600.00	900.00
5	Massachusetts National Bank, Boston.....	500.00	505.00
32	National Bank of Commerce, Boston.....	3,200.00	4,192.00
6	National Bank of North America, Boston.....	600.00	756.00
5	North National Bank, Boston.....	500.00	690.00
24	Quinsigamond National Bank, Worcester.....	2,400.00	2,952.00
46	Shawmut National Bank, Boston.....	4,600.00	5,796.00
33	Webster National Bank, Boston.....	8,300.00	3,201.00
31	Worcester National Bank.....	3,100.00	4,650.00
	Total of Bank Stock,.....	\$23,000.00	\$29,582.00
30	Northern (N. H.) R. R. Co.....	\$3,000.00	\$4,320.00
5	Worcester Gas Light Co.....	500.00	800.00
25	West End St. Railway Co. (Pfd.).....	1,250.00	2,075.00
	BONDS.		
	Central Pacific R. R. Bonds.....	5,000.00	5,400.00
	Kansas City, Fort Scott & Gulf R. R.....	4,300.00	4,713.00
	Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe R. R. Co.....	3,000.00	2,500.00
	Chicago & Eastern Illinois R. R. 5 per cent.....	5,000.00	5,050.00
	Quincy Water Bonds.....	8,000.00	6,000.00
	Congress Hotel Bonds, Chicago.....	5,000.00	5,000.00
	Notes secured by mortgage of real estate.....	56,050.00	56,050.00
	Deposited in Worcester savings banks.....	348.27	348.27
	Cash in National Bank on Interest.....	4,715.04	4,715.04
		\$117,103.91	\$126,663.91

WORCESTER, Mass., April 1, 1893.

Respectfully submitted,

NATH'L PAIN,

Treasurer.

The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, hereby certify that we have examined the report of the Treasurer, made up to April 1, 1893, and find the same to be correct and properly vouched; that the securities held by him are as stated, and that the balance of cash, as stated to be on hand, is satisfactorily accounted for.

WM. A. SMITH.

A. G. BULLOCK.

April 24, 1893.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

IT has been said by one of our members who is also a librarian: "If you want all the conceit, natural and acquired, taken out of you, by all means adopt the librarian's profession." And by the same writer, "If history be good for anything it is good for telling the truth." Another associate has recently remarked, what is peculiarly applicable both to the user and custodian of our historical library, that "The leisure reader is as worthy as the hurried caller." We also listen with loving respect to the "Autocrat of the Breakfast Table" when he tells us that "Every library should try to be complete on something if it were only on the history of pinheads"; wisely adding: "I don't mean that I buy all the trashy compilations on my special subjects, but try to have all the works of any real importance relating to them, old as well as new." An experience of twenty-seven years as your assistant librarian and as librarian confirms a belief in the truth of these statements. Ten years have passed since my first report as chief librarian was presented. They have been years full of activity and responsibility which need not here be reviewed, but for which I must be allowed to express my deep sense of gratitude. A hasty glance at the reports offered, shows that they have touched not only upon matters relating to our special work and to library economy in general, but upon minor historical and biographical points as well. The librarian has always been allowed by the Council to include in his report on the library—which is but a fragment of theirs—such suggestions as might commend themselves to his judgment. It should also be remembered that while he is in correspond-

ence with many of his associates, his semi-annual report is the only vehicle by which he can reach them all. These reports and lists of givers and gifts have each year averaged during the ten years last past about thirty printed pages. The results, however, have seemed to justify the use of so much space in our Proceedings. It is not at all improbable that during the next decade our members throughout the land will be so much more responsive to the calls of the President, that more space may be required for their important contributions and therefore less for the librarian's reports. A bit of evidence in this hopeful direction appears in a note from one of our associates outside New England, recently addressed to your librarian: "All goes well with our ancient and worthy Society. I shall not feel quite content until I have done my best in the way of a contribution to its interesting annals. Its standards are, I am glad to say, held high, and its best interests will be subserved by keeping them there." As of minor but of real importance, I beg leave to suggest that members are also desired to notify their librarian of added honors as well as of change of residence, and in fact to furnish him at any time biographical *data* as to themselves or any of their associates in this Society. Such material is carefully pigeon-holed, while portraits of members are alphabetically arranged in portfolios specially prepared for that purpose. There are certain preferences which the "keeper of the rolls" will gladly take note of. For instance, a member writes, March 2, 1893: "Responding to your letter of the 25th ultimo I beg to say that I never expect to drop the Jr. from my name. I preserve it because I bear my father's name, and to distinguish the one from the other is a matter of perhaps some moment." It is also important that we know not only the post-office address of a member, but especially for our catalogue of members, his domicile as well. Another member informs us that "Having occasion recently to re-read 'Lechford's Manuscript Note Book'

(Transactions VII.), I came across a few words which seem to me to be errors; if they are, they have probably been pointed out before this, and you can drop this note into the waste-basket. At p. 101, for Pandopatorem read Pandoxatorem—an innkeeper or taverner. It is not a solitary instance of the old *p* being read *x*. At p. 268 for Capitando read Capitaneo. The old *e* often resembles *d*. At p. 427 for LEEKE read LEETE and for Menuicketucke read Menunkatuck=Guilford, Conn." As these suggested corrections are from high authority, it may be well for members and others to note them by query in their copies of *Lechford*. They will be verified by the original manuscript should a new edition be called for, and the stereotype plates accordingly changed. Still another recently elected member writes from his home across the Atlantic: "Looking at the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, I see that the formation of a great library is one of their chief objects. It seems to me that I should best express my thanks for election as a member by presenting a few books." These signs of our times are truly encouraging.

We have not been able or willing to escape our full share of correspondence and other work incident to the World's Columbian Exposition. The fact that we have so long time celebrated the birthday of America has led some persons to think of Columbus as our patron saint, and we have been appealed to accordingly. In particular we have encouraged the United States Bureau of Education, the American Library Association, and the various State and other associations at home and abroad, in their efforts to make a worthy and useful library exhibit. Their general plan appears to cover: first, history and statistics; second, exhibits of individual libraries; third, the A. L. A. library; and fourth, a comparative exhibit. It is said of the latter that: "a special feature is library architecture. This will show plans, elevations, perspectives, models, etc., of the most interesting and successful buildings thus far

erected or planned for library use." It is further announced that at the close of the Exposition, this exhibit will be permanently preserved, the model library in the United States Bureau of Education at Washington, and the comparative exhibit in the fire-proof Capitol at Albany, in each case as part of a permanent museum constantly open, free to the inspection and study of all interested. While duplicates, reproductions and information have been unstintedly granted, no original material from library or cabinet has thus far been sent to Chicago by this Society; our protective policy having been strengthened by our experience at the Centennial Exposition. The Columbian character of our Society is strikingly illustrated by its engraved diploma. The original copperplate, ten by sixteen inches, which was elaborately engraved by Thomas Reed, is said to have been lost in the Stationers' Hall fire in Boston. The impressions therefrom, whether upon parchment or parchment-paper, are very effective, and the declaration and requests are certainly suggestive. In the centre of the upper half of the certificate is represented, in a storm, the vessel of Columbus with sails partly reefed and partly torn and flying in shreds as the ship is driven before the wind. Five men appear upon the main deck, while Columbus stands at the stern with a cask directly in front of him. In two curved lines which span the storm-clouds is the following legend: "He (Columbus) wrote on parchment an account of his discoveries, wrapped it in a piece of oiled cloth & | enclosed it in a cake of wax, which he put into a tight cask, and threw into the sea (Belknap)." On either side and beneath is engraved the short quotation from Vergil: "*Olim meminisse juabit.*" and below it all we read "To —— The AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, instituted | for the purpose of COLLECTING AND PRESERVING Materials for the History, and for promoting the Arts | and Sciences of this Western Continent, did on

the —— day of —— in the Year of our Lord | —— elect you a Member, and ask your aid. In testimony whereof I have caused the Seal of the Society | to be affixed to this Diploma. —— President. Attest —— Rec. Secretary."

An examination of the social customs and festivities of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, as preserved for us by secretary and librarian William Lincoln, and an examination of those of the second quarter, so well illustrated by the cards of invitation, etc., deposited in our storehouse by our president, Hon. Edward Everett, remind us of the present worth of friends in this department. In the librarian's report of October, 1884, the value of such material was suggested by the printing of an invitation to the Worcester Social Assemblies bearing date November 23, 1816. There is evidence that the custom of early meeting prevailed both before and after that period. I submit the following sample of an invitation of but three-score years ago:—

MILITARY BALL,

of the Worcester Rifle Company.

THE COMPANY OF *Maj: Charles G. Pierpont*

and Lady, is solicited at ESTABROOK'S HALL, on *Thursday,*
Jan. 17th, at 4 o'clock, P. M.

L. POOL, S. H. GLEASON, M. T. BRECK, G. PAINE, G. T. S. CURTIS, D. HARRIS,	}	<i>Managers.</i>
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Jan. 9th, 1883.

Gentlemen are requested to appear in uniform.

I also introduce an invitation of more present public interest, which a letter addressed to your librarian January 17, 1893, by order of President Charles F. Mayer of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company will sufficiently explain: "The Company appreciates, I assure you, the kindly interest taken by you in furthering the historical features of the exhibit at Chicago, of the World's Railway.

We should very much indeed like to have a photographic copy of the letter to Hon. Edward Everett of which you speak." A reproduction of the Circular letter, without note or comment, follows:—

Office of the Baltimore and Ohio
Rail Road Company,

DECEMBER 22, 1829.

The Honorable Edward Everett,

WASHINGTON:

The President and Directors of the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road Company, having completed a division of their road near to this city, and being prepared to shew, upon a limited scale, by the application of horse power alone, the advantage of this system of Inter-communication, most respectfully invite you, with such of your friends as may be disposed to honour them with their company, in the Christmas recess, or at any time during the sitting of Congress, which may better suit your convenience, to examine the Rail Road, and to witness such results as can be produced.

Most Respectfully, &c.

PHILIP E. THOMAS, *President.*
Balt. & Otoe Rail Road Co.

Our accessions for the six months just passed have been received from two hundred and ninety-five givers; viz.: from forty-four members, one hundred and forty persons not members, and one hundred and seven societies and institutions. From these sources we have acquired four hundred and eighty-seven books, thirty-four hundred and twenty-seven pamphlets, eighteen volumes of bound and one hundred and thirty-four of unbound newspapers, two hundred and sixty-two photographs, fifteen coins, eight maps, four broadsides, three engravings, one medal, one tile and one manuscript. We have also secured by exchange, seventy-nine books and one hundred and twenty-one pamphlets; and from the bindery, sixty-two volumes of magazines and twelve of newspapers; making a total of six hundred and twenty-eight books, thirty-five hundred and forty-eight pamphlets, thirty bound and one hundred and thirty-four volumes of unbound newspapers, etc.

I make special mention of the following: Stevens's *Fac-similes*, XI.—XV. have been placed upon our shelves by the givers of the first ten volumes; namely, President Stephen Salisbury, Vice-President George F. Hoar and Councillor Edward L. Davis. Our president has added the elaborate genealogical work in five volumes recently published by Dr. and Mrs. Edward E. Salisbury. The gift of our treasurer, Mr. Nathaniel Paine, includes additions to his Columbus photographs. This remarkable collection is a forcible reminder of a recent remark in the *Baltimore American*—under the heading “A limit to ability”—to the effect that “Columbus was versatile, but it is odds to nothing that he did not look like all of his pictures.” Through our associate the Rev. Dr. William R. Huntington the library was named one of the eighteen depositories for the “Standard Prayer Book of 1892.” Dr. Huntington—who is well known as the leader in this successful effort to enrich the Book of Common Prayer—has recently made

another large contribution to our literature of the Episcopal Church in America. Mr. Robert N. Toppin contributes to our portfolio an engraving about three-eighths of an inch in diameter, endorsed by him, "The smallest engraving made by hand; by Charles Toppin, 1819." In a letter accompanying the gift, he writes; "I enclose for the American Antiquarian Society an engraving made by my father when in England in 1819. It will require a magnifying-glass to read the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments. It is undoubtedly the smallest engraving ever made by hand. An English engraver had engraved the Lord's Prayer in about the same space, and had bragged that no one could surpass him, so my father put the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments into the same space." The librarian has placed with our war of the rebellion photographs, those of many of the officers and men who were companions in arms of his brother George Edward Barton, late sergeant-major of the Fifty-first and captain of the Fifty-seventh Massachusetts Volunteers. The difficulty experienced in identifying some of these heroes of our late war, leads him to urge the importance of the immediate marking of all such individual portraits. He ventures further to urge upon all photographers, professional or amateur, the importance of dating by print, stamp, or pen, all of their productions.

The fifth and final portion of the American library of the late George Brinley was sold April 18, 19 and 20 of the present year by Messrs. Charles F. Libbey & Company of Boston. For this closing sale, the Society had the right to bid off books, etc., to the value of \$403.66 without charge, that being the remainder of the five thousand dollars "bequeathed by Mr. Brinley and validated by his heirs." The purchases were made by your librarian under the direction of the library committee, but further reference thereto must be delayed until the arrival of the books,

pamphlets, broadsides, etc. The gift of Mrs. Gen. William S. Lincoln is of exceptional value, inasmuch as it includes four sets of the "Worcester Magazine and Historical Journal," long since out of print, and the rare volume two of our *Archæologia Americana*. The receipt of the latter makes it possible to provide a fifth set of our Transactions for some public or private library. Charles E. Stevens, Esq., has given us the entire edition—twenty-five copies—of the reprint of his "Ecclesiastical History of Worcester," which first appeared in the "History of Worcester County, Mass.," printed at Philadelphia in 1889. A large photograph of the birthplace of George Bancroft, on Salisbury street in Worcester, has been received from Mr. John M. Bemis, by whom it was taken. It is handsomely framed. Mrs. P. Emory Aldrich and Mr. George H. Estabrook have made large and valuable additions to our departments of missionary and agricultural literature respectively, and Messrs. G. Stewart Dickinson and Frederick B. Harlow to that of college and school magazines. Mrs. Lucy N. Colman has sent—through the Syracuse Public Library—her "Reminiscences," to our alcove of Slavery and Rebellion, and Mons. Désiré Pector several of his brochures to the Davis Spanish-American Alcove. Important Hawaiian material has reached us from the Rev. Dr. Henry T. Cheever of Worcester and Mr. Willard E. Brown of Honolulu; fifty copies of the "Worcester High School Dedication," from Superintendent Albert P. Marble, for distribution; and an excellent interior photographic view of Antiquarian Hall from Mr. Walter E. Brown. An intended gift from a western office of publication has failed to reach us because, as the owner expresses it, "our entire stock of back numbers was burned last June and we had difficulty in securing a file for our own use." Like many another, our friend has innocently "added a stone to the floor of the underground thoroughfare which is paved with

good intentions." We acknowledge a set of their reports, from a member of the Board of Trustees of the Boston Fatherless and Widows Society who modestly writes: "I am told that every large public library values a collection of reports in themselves as unimportant as these I forward with this note. I therefore send this parcel without understanding myself how they can be of any use to anybody." It would thus seem to be a part of our mission to teach the importance of preserving historical details.

The third report of the Free Public Library Commission of Massachusetts has come to us through our fellow-member, Hon. Henry S. Nourse, one of the commissioners. The good results which have followed the labors of this commission of men and women have already been far-reaching. I shall be pardoned for sending out for a wider consideration, a preamble and seven suggestions which will be found therein headed The Preservation of Town History: "It is of the first importance that the free public library of every town should preserve every published detail of its history and of the lives of its citizens. It should become a treasure-house for the local historian. With this end in view, great care should be taken to secure and preserve:—1. All printed histories of the town and its locality, including all historical addresses or sketches of its churches, associations or societies of whatever nature. 2. Complete sets of the annual reports of the selectmen, school committees and all other municipal reports. 3. Genealogies and family histories which relate to those who have been or who are citizens of the town, including the preservation of biographical sketches and personal memorials in scrap-books. 4. Files of all newspapers published in the town, or of those published in the vicinity containing a chronicle of the current events of the town. 5. All publications of natives or residents of the town, and of persons in any way identified

with its history. 6. Prospectuses, programmes and all transient publications which may be illustrative in any degree of the social, political, economical, or moral development of the people of the town. 7. Manuscript material such as unpublished sermons or addresses, the records of societies, etc." And here I note the fact that the chairman of this important commission, Mr. Caleb B. Tillinghast, has this month been made state librarian, thus giving him the proper title to an office which he has filled the past fourteen years under the name of acting librarian. For many years, the honored Secretary of the State Board of Education was state librarian by virtue of his office. The report of the state librarian of New Hampshire for 1892, just received, contains two interesting lists not often found in such reports. First, *desiderata* of English and Canadian reports, digests and statutes for the completion of their law sets; and second, the report of a committee of the New Hampshire Library Association upon the bibliography of Dover, N. H., containing titles of (1) works of Dover, (2) works written by residents of Dover while residents, (3) works bearing the publisher's imprint of Dover.

Our exchanges while not large have been very satisfactory. We have in this way secured a set of the Collections of the Southern Historical Society, in twenty volumes, lacking only Vol. 2, Nos. 1, 2; Vol. 6, No. 6; Vol. 7, No. 12 and Vol. 8, Nos. 8 to 12 inclusive. While the secretary—our associate, Mr. Robert A. Brock—will make strict search therefor, it is possible that others of our southern members may aid in the completion of this important work.

In addition to the usual return of national and state documents for redistribution, we have for a like purpose made a contribution to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Twenty years of the *American Agriculturist* have been placed in the libraries of the

Worcester Agricultural Society and of the Worcester County Horticultural Society, and important contributions made to the Library of Congress and Harvard College files of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*. By such disposition of duplicate material much needed shelf-room in the lower main hall has been secured.

I note with peculiar pleasure the marked increase in the use of the library by students of the Worcester Polytechnic Institute. This is due in part, at least, to the impetus given by Professor William MacDonald to its department of History and Economics. The preparation of bibliographies, etc., of matters of greater or lesser historical importance, has taken not only the time of the pupils but also that of the library staff. A side advantage to us, however, is found in the indications of strength or weakness in any given line. Furthermore, the working tools thus brought out are necessarily brightened by use, while the school of the librarian is kept in a lively and so in a healthful condition. It is well to remember that our library is in a very real sense a laboratory in which some difficult problems are to be solved, and that it should, therefore, be well equipped.

The question has recently been asked why in the earlier days of the Society its spring meeting was held on the last Wednesday of May, instead of as at present on the last Wednesday of April. I find an answer thereto in the following extract from our Proceedings of fifty years ago: "The semi-annual meeting of the American Antiquarian Society was held at the Tremont House, Boston, on the thirty-first day of May, 1843, being the last Wednesday of that month, which for many years previous to the revision of the Constitution of Massachusetts had been appointed for the organization of the government of the Commonwealth and the qualification of the executive officers. The day had long been observed as a great public festival and

it seemed appropriate that those who desired to preserve the memory of the ancient customs and to cherish the pure principles of former times, should observe the old anniversary." It is, perhaps, worthy of note that the proceedings of this meeting were headed Vol. I, May, 1843, No. 1, and those of October of the same year, Vol. I, October, 1843, No. II. The pagination was not continuous and the new plan was abandoned after these two issues. It, however, suggests to us of these latter days the happy change introduced by our committee of publication in October, 1880, when Vol. I. New Series, No. 1, appeared as an earnest of continuous volumes to be duly indexed. It would seem that the eight volumes of this new series ought to be found in more of the public libraries of America. Only a limited edition is printed, and the work is not stereotyped.

Mention may here be made of two centennial celebrations held this year in the city of our birth, as in the establishing of both institutions our founder apparently had a guiding hand. They are the Worcester Fire Society, organized for mutual protection, and continued as a social club; and Morning Star Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, of which Doctor Thomas was the first master. It is to be hoped that the historical material gathered for use on these interesting occasions will be printed. Let me add, that while he was a leading member of the masonic order—having been for years the grand master of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts—he faithfully collected for his library and ours, and so for the historian of all time, both masonic and antimasonic literature.

Referring to the boy days of Isaiah Thomas, I record his suggestive endorsement upon our copy of the ballad called "The Lawers (*sic*) Pedigree," viz.: "This copy was printed from the first Types handled by Isaiah Thomas, when he was six years of age—in 1755."

Added years and increasing usefulness necessarily broaden the field of the Society's correspondence, and give the librarian a closer tie to members and other scholars. And in this connection, I venture to preserve in print, as supplementary to his papers in the Proceedings of October, 1887, and October, 1892, a paragraph or two from a letter of March 21, 1893, by Mr. Andrew McF. Davis: "You will probably be interested to know that I have received from Harvard College an official copy of the vote of the President and Fellows voting to take as of August 1, 1892, five thousand dollars from the stock account and to establish the Lady Mowlson Scholarship with an income of two hundred dollars. The preamble recites that 'the Treasurer stated that researches made by Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis have brought to light the fact that Lady Ann Mowlson of London, in the year 1643, founded the first scholarship in Harvard College by the gift of £100 current English money,' etc. These researches were published in the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society. It is therefore proper for me to call your attention to this result." I note for ready reference that a two-column article upon this Society—which was prepared by Mr. Davis for the Colonial Society of Massachusetts—may be found in the *Boston Commonwealth* of March 11, 1893.

I close with a quotation from Mr. Haven's library report of April 28, 1858, which is a vivid picture of the Society and its work of thirty-five years ago. As but nine of our present members were elected before that time, these words will surely be new to nearly every one of us and doubly interesting to those who may now hear them again. Doctor Haven said: "The American Antiquarian Society is quiet and undemonstrative in its nature and self-supporting in its system. It is neither stimulated by a surrounding atmosphere of redundant learning and ambitious scholarship, nor fertilized by the flow of annual subscriptions into its treas.

ury from a numerous body of associates. It has not the advantage of a large and wealthy connection, made active and enterprising by the habits of business and liberal expenditure incident to a populous commercial city. Its operations are controlled and bounded by stated and limited resources. It is not unlike a country gentleman living upon his estate and within the income it produces. It owns the house it occupies and the soil on which it stands. It can afford something to secure the requisite care and productive management of its various possessions, make moderate provision for any required increase of accommodations, and within its precincts, can exercise a hearty though unostentatious hospitality. It can occasionally purchase a few books such as may be needed for immediate use, or when prompted by the occurrence of rare opportunities. It can progressively assort and put into binding the pamphlets and periodical publications that accumulate from the gifts of its friends, and find or make a place for accessions of whatever kind, that may be intrusted to its keeping. It can to a certain extent employ an annual sum in researches for the promotion of archaeological and historical information and, in a limited way, it can publish and distribute memoirs and papers which it is deemed desirable thus to perpetuate. Within restrictions as to numbers prescribed by its constitution, it can invite gentlemen with whom it desires to be connected, to occupy the vacant places in its list of members and to share whatever interests, responsibilities or honors may belong to that position. The Society can claim that it is free from debt, that it is in the condition and has the will for wider and more active exertions in proportion as its means may be enlarged and as junctures may occur; that its policy is liberal if conservative, whose aim is not merely to increase its store but to extend and diffuse the common and general utility of its collections. It will be seen that these circumstances furnish

the elements of durability and of substantial usefulness, but not the groundwork of display. They foreshadow a healthy growth that may not only be permanent but become conspicuous, while sudden or extraordinary claims to public attention are in keeping with neither its character nor its principles of action." I will not weaken by comment these suggestive and scholarly words of my honored predecessor.

Respectfully submitted.

EDMUND M. BARTON,

Libraries.

Givers and Gifts.

FROM MEMBERS.

ADAMS, Mr. CHARLES FRANCIS, Quincy.—His "Columbus and the Spanish Discovery of America."

ALDRICH, Hon. P. EMORY, Worcester.—"The Antiquary," in continuation.

BARTON, Mr. EDMUND M., Worcester.—Four books; ten pamphlets; one hundred and twenty-three photographs; and "St. Andrew's Cross," in continuation.

BARTON, Wm. SUMNER, Esq., Worcester.—Four books; forty-five pamphlets; and three maps.

BLISS, Mr. EUGENE F., Cincinnati, O.—Annual Report of the Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society, 1892.

BRINTON, DANIEL G., LL.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—Eight of his brochures; and two pamphlets.

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DAVIS, Hon. EDWARD L., Worcester.—One Spanish-American pamphlet.

DAVIS, Hon. HORACE, San Francisco, Cal.—Eighteenth Annual Meeting of the Chit-Chat Club.

DEXTER, Professor FRANKLIN B., New Haven, Conn.—Notice of the death of Dr. John S. Newberry.

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6; one book; ninety-three pamphlets; two photographs; one medal; one tile; two broadsides; and the "American Journal of Numismatics" and "Our Spice Box," in continuation.

GUILD, REUBEN A., LL.D., Providence, R. I.—"Liber Brunensis," 1892; Sears's Tribute to Timothy Whiting Bancroft; and Annual Catalogue of Brown University, 1892-93.

HARDEN, WILLIAM, Esq., Savannah, Ga.—Two educational pamphlets.

HAYNES, Prof. HENRY W., Boston.—Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, Series IV., Part 2.

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JONES, Hon. HORATIO GATES, Philadelphia, Pa.—His "History of Lower Merion Baptist Church, Montgomery Co., Pa."

MERRIMAN, Rev. DANIEL, D.D., Worcester.—His sermon in memory of Phillips Brooks; two books; files of four magazines, in continuation; and eighty-four pamphlets.

NOURSE, Hon. HENRY S., *Commissioner*, Lancaster.—Third Annual Report of the Free Public Library Commission of Massachusetts, 1893.

PAINE, Rev. GEORGE S., Worcester.—The "Spirit of Missions," in continuation.

PAINE, NATHANIEL, Esq., Worcester.—Three of his brochures; four books; two hundred and ninety-three pamphlets; the "New England Galaxy" for 1825; thirty-two photographs; three Columbus portraits; and two lithographs.

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PERRY, Right Rev. WILLIAM STEVENS, D.D., Davenport, Iowa.—Six pamphlets; and the "Iowa Churchman," as issued.

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ROGERS, General HORATIO, *Commissioner*, Providence, R. I.—“The Early Records of the Town of Providence,” Vol. II.

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WILLIAMS, J. FLETCHER, S.B., St. Paul, Minn.—“Tribute of Minnesota to James G. Blaine.”

WINSOR, JUSTIN, LL.D., Cambridge.—Two of his historical brochures.

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FROM PERSONS NOT MEMBERS.

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BISHOP, Mr. N. H.—One circular.

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SPRINGFIELD CITY LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.—Four volumes of their "Library Bulletin."

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN.—Their publications, as issued.

SUNSET CLUB, Chicago, Ill.—"Echoes of the Sunset Club."

TRAVELERS' INSURANCE COMPANY.—Their "Record," as issued.

UNITED STATES BUREAU OF EDUCATION.—Its Circulars, as issued.

UNITED STATES BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY.—Two of its reports.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.—Three pamphlets.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.—Twenty-nine books; and thirty pamphlets.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE.—United States Consular Reports, as issued.

UNITED STATES INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION.—Statistics of Railways in the United States, 1891.

UNITED STATES LIFE-SAVING SERVICE.—Its Annual Report, 1890.

UNITED STATES TREASURY DEPARTMENT.—One department report.

UNITED STATES WAR DEPARTMENT.—Index Catalogue, Vol. 13; and the "Official Records of the War of the Rebellion," as issued.

UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT.—Catalogue of the Library of George P. Marsh; and one pamphlet.

WEDNESDAY CLUB, Worcester.—Its Lenten Calendar, for All Saints Church, Worcester, 1898.

WORCESTER BOARD OF HEALTH.—Their "Mortality Reports," as issued.

WORCESTER COUNTY MECHANICS ASSOCIATION.—Twenty-two files of newspapers, in continuation.

WORCESTER COUNTY MUSICAL ASSOCIATION.—Their publications, as issued.

WORCESTER FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Twenty-nine books; eighty-three pamphlets; and seventy-two files of newspapers, in continuation.

WORCESTER NATIONAL BANK.—Four files of newspapers in continuation.

WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY.—Their Collections, as issued; and three of their reprints.

WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION DIRECTORS.—Their publications, as issued.

YALE UNIVERSITY.—Its Annual Catalogue, 1892-93.

THE BRITISH PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE AND THE MATERIALS IN IT FOR EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY.

BY W. NOEL SAINSBURY.

Late Assistant Keeper of the Public Records.

FORTY-FIVE years ago, when I was first appointed, our Public Records were dispersed in several Record Offices, scattered over various parts of London and elsewhere,—in the Chapter House at Westminster, in the Tower of London, the King's Mews at Charing Cross, at Carlton Ride, in the Rolls Chapel Office, Chancery Lane, in the State Paper Office in St. James's Park and other places too numerous to mention. Parliament had some ten years before, in 1838, had their attention drawn to this important subject, when the Act now so well known as the "Public Record Act" was passed. It recites that "Whereas the Public Records are in the keeping of several persons and many are kept in unfit buildings, and it is expedient to establish one Record Office and a better custody, and to allow the free use of the said records as far as stands with their safety and integrity and with the public policy of the realm," and then it goes on to enact that "the Records belonging to her Majesty be in the custody of the Master of the Rolls." The State Papers were by Treasury Minute dated 8 August, 1848, to be transferred to the Public Record Office on the death of the Keeper of State Papers. This took place in 1854, but it was not until the year 1862 that the entire contents of the State Paper Office were, on the demolition of that office, removed to the Record Repository in Fetter Lane.

A magnificent pile of buildings, the construction of which was commenced in 1851, has consequently been erected on what is called the Rolls Estate bounded on the east by

Fetter Lane, and on the west by Chancery Lane, and our Public Records have been collected together into a permanent home in this absolutely fire proof Repository, which although not yet finished, probably will be in another five or six years, as the works are now in progress toward completion.

An elaborate "Guide to the Principal Classes of Documents preserved in the Public Record Office, by S. R. Scargill Bird, F. S. A. of the Public Record Office" has lately been printed by the British Government. Mr. Scargill Bird in his Introduction says, "The Public Records of this country have been said to excel all others in age, beauty, correctness and authority! For a period of well-nigh 800 years they contain in an almost unbroken chain of evidence not only the political and constitutional history of the realm and the remotest particulars with regard to its financial and social progress, but also the history of the land and of its successive owners from generation to generation and of the legal procedure of the country from a time to which the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." This Guide is an exhaustive summary of the contents of the British Public Record Office, the oldest and most valuable record in the National Archives being "Domesday Book." As an example of the enormous bulk of the National Archives it will be sufficient to say that one class of documents alone, the Close Rolls of the Court of Chancery, comprise considerably over 18,000 rolls, whilst the Coram Rege and De Banco rolls, which are also numbered by thousands, are frequently of huge size, a single roll of the Tudor or Stuart period containing from 500 to 1,000 skins of parchment.

Before proceeding to dwell upon the materials for Early American History in the British Public Record Office, I should like to give a slight sketch of the history of the State Paper Office in which these "materials" were originally deposited.

The State Paper Office, or as it was originally called the "Office of her Majesty's papers and records for business of State and Council," was established by Queen Elizabeth under the Great Seal in 1578. It was first erected because through the often changing of the Secretaries of State the papers began to be embezzled, and it was thought necessary that a certain place should be appointed for them and a fit man chosen for registering and keeping them in order and to be tied by oath for the secrecy and safe-keeping of them. Applications to consult and make use of the State Papers by the public were originally very rare, and granted only to a favored few. There is evidence that Evelyn, Burnet, Le Strange, Collier, Strype, Chalmers and other writers of bygone days made use of the materials in the State Paper Office by special permission. But so religiously were these State Papers guarded that in 1775 Lord North, the Prime Minister, solicited "the King's approval to have free access to all correspondence in the Paper Office," and as late as 1854 I well remember no one under the rank of a Privy Councillor was allowed access to any of the Libraries or rooms in the State Paper Office, where the State Papers were kept. In fact that Office was the Library of the Secretaries of State, all of whom had sole control of their respective Documents whether Home, Foreign, or Colonial, the Home Secretary having the sole power of appointment of Officers to the State Paper Office. On the death of the last Keeper of State Papers, in 1854, all this was changed, the State Paper Office was consolidated with the Public Record Office in accordance with the Treasury Minute of 1848, and the State Papers were all removed as before mentioned to Fetter Lane in 1862, the Office in St. James's Park was pulled down and the space utilized for part of the present India Office. Those who are interested will find an exhaustive introduction to a Calendar of Documents relating to the history of the State Paper Office, in an appendix to

the thirtieth report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, which I was instructed to prepare in 1869.

It was in the State Paper Office that I had my first experience of official work and became acquainted with its contents, and it was there, in 1848, that I had the honor of being introduced to the Honorable George Bancroft, then American Minister at the Court of St. James. Mr. Bancroft was making researches among our State Papers for his History of America, and it was he who led me to take a special interest in our Colonial State Papers by asking me to assist him in his researches, until I became I verily believe as deeply interested in the discovery of any new documents as he was himself. I well remember bringing to his notice for the first time a "Report of proceedings in the General Assembly convened at James City in Virginia July 30, 1619," and his pleasure in reading it. This was the first Assembly ever held in America, and, although Mr. Bancroft knew very well that such an Assembly met about that time, he did not know the exact date of their meeting, and had not until then been able to discover any documentary evidence about it.

For nearly forty years, I enjoyed the friendship of Mr. Bancroft, and, although some time before his death I only corresponded with him at intervals, he never omitted to show his regard for me whenever an opportunity occurred. I know he had manuscript volumes of transcripts in his Library I had made for him which comprised more than ten reams of paper. One of his last acts of kindness was to recommend to the State of North Carolina that I should be employed to assist the Secretary of State in collecting together all the documents in the British Public Record Office relating to the Colonial history of that State.

All the materials for early American history, or nearly all, were about the year 1830 transferred to Her Majesty's State Paper Office at Westminster, a handsome building situated at the corner of Duke Street, and facing St. James's Park,

and it was not until the year 1862, when the site of the State Paper Office was required for the India Office, that the former Office was pulled down, and the State Papers were removed to Fetter Lane. The State Paper Office had not been built more than about thirty years, at an expense of £60,000. I well remember some two or three years before, four cabinet ministers of Lord Palmerston's Government coming on a visit of inspection to see whether the State Paper Office could not be made in some way available as a part of the newly projected Foreign and India Offices, and the intense excitement of the officials of the State Paper Office as to the result, but the fiat came forth, the birthplace of my official life was doomed, and I in conjunction with my colleagues drifted to the Public Record Office in Fetter Lane.

The inception of early American history dates naturally from the Charters or Letters Patent from the British Crown under which the original States of the Great American Republic were settled, and these are to be found enrolled on the Patent Rolls, and therefore never were deposited in the State Paper Office but almost invariably copied, and very frequently certified copies are to be found in the Colonial Entry Books. I may here remark that I believe all these original Charters are in English, with the exception of Maryland which is in Latin. Rather more than twenty years ago, on 21 December, 1869, as doubtless many will remember, the late Mr. Charles Deane read a paper of the utmost value for research and historical accuracy before the Massachusetts Historical Society on "The forms in issuing Letters Patent by the Crown of England, in connection with the Massachusetts Charter." I had the privilege of assisting Mr. Deane in his labors at that time, and I remember consulting my learned chief, the late Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, than whom there was not a higher authority in this Kingdom on the procedure of granting Letters Patent. Mr. Deane has so ably embodied all the information he obtained

in his exhaustive paper, that I will only in this place give two deviations from "the forms in issuing letters patent" which have come to my knowledge since Mr. Deane's paper was read. On 24 June, 1665, King Charles II. commanded "That this pardon pass by our Great Seal by immediate warrant without Privy Seal or Signet." Again, Queen Anne, on 1 July, 1702, directed a Privy Seal "which for this purpose will serve as well as a broad seal," and it would not be difficult to find other departures from the usual procedure.

All the Colonial State Papers in the British Public Office relating to very early American history have already been printed and published at the expense of the British Government under my editorship. These consist of three royal octavo volumes of between 700 and 800 pages each, down to the end of the year 1674, or just one hundred years from the date of the "Supplication" of Sir Humphrey Gylberte, Sir George Peckham, Mr. Carlile, Sir Richard Grenville and others to Queen Elizabeth, "to allow of an enterprise by them conceived at their charges and adventure to be performed for discovery of sundry rich and unknown lands." I am now engaged upon a fourth volume, which I hope to complete by the end of this year, nearly half of which will contain an Addenda of early and valuable documents beginning with the "Supplication" above mentioned, and will include, I expect, the years 1675, 1676 and 1677, and a very full and in many respects new account of Bacon's rebellion in Virginia.

But I have not yet given an account of the subdivisions of our series of early Colonial State Papers and how they came to be made. There are three series, viz:—Colonial Papers and Colonial Entry Books, which date from the earliest period down to 1688, the date of our revolution. These are in course of being calendared, and as before stated are printed and published down to 1674. This series consists of seventy-two volumes of original papers and one

hundred and ten volumes of Entry Books. From 1689 to 1783 there are two further series, viz:—America and West Indies and Board of Trade, the former series being the correspondence with the Secretary of State and emanating from that Department, the latter as the title implies the correspondence with and papers of the Board of Trade. Now previous to the year 1768, when George III. appointed a third Secretary of State for the American or Colonial Department, which Office was however abolished in 1782, but re-instituted twelve years later, when a Secretary for War was appointed who had also charge of the business of the Colonies, there were only two Secretaries of State, one for the Northern and one for the Southern Department, and the affairs of the Colonies devolved upon the elder of these two Secretaries who had therefore charge of the correspondence with the American Colonies, and this series of America and West Indies contains the correspondence in question.

With respect to the Board of Trade series there are no papers anterior to 1660, and for this solid reason that a "Council for Trade and also a Council for Foreign Plantations" was not created until the end of 1660. It is said that Cromwell seems to have given the first notion of a Board of Trade. Twelve years later however these Boards were united, but in 1782 they were abolished, and in 1786 the Board of Trade as at present constituted was formed. Although it would seem obvious that the nature of the papers in these two series of America and West Indies and Board of Trade would be very different, the one as relating chiefly to matters of the internal government of each particular Colony, the proceedings of Council and the Legislative Assemblies, the other as referring to matters of trade, shipping, imports and exports, &c., still this is not the case, for more frequently than not the letters of the respective Governors to the Board of Trade relate circumstantially and in much detail all that had taken place in their respective

Colonies, whereas those to the Secretary of State are of the most meagre description. Whether this was the reason for fresh instructions being given to the Governors I am unable to say, but certain it is that more than once they were instructed to send duplicates of every letter written to the Secretary of State and to the Board of Trade, so that at particular periods such duplicates are to be found in both of these series.

The "Colonial Papers" down to 1688 are arranged and calendared in chronological order without reference to the Colony, but after that date the papers become very numerous and they are bound in separate Colonies, but always in chronological order. Between 1689 and 1783, a period of nearly one hundred years, there are upwards of 1,500 bound volumes, containing the unbroken history, or nearly so, of each of the original States of the American Republic. Hundreds of these are to be found in the America and West Indies series and hundreds in the Board of Trade series. In those Governments which were immediately under the crown of Great Britain, all the documents relating to each particular Colony will be found chronologically arranged and bound, or rather I should say the chronological arrangement is subservient to the date the document was *received*, not written, and very frequently to the date when it was *read* by the Lords of Trade. In the constant searches I have had among these Board of Trade papers I have found this arrangement exceedingly inconvenient and perplexing. I will give one example only; the Law Officers of the Crown reported on certain Acts passed in South Carolina in 1730, but because this report was not *read* at the Board until 1734, four years later, it is placed in that year; the mischief of such an arrangement is obvious as a searcher would scarcely prosecute his search four years beyond the date he ought to find the document, unless he was well aware of this peculiar arrangement. With respect to the Proprietary Governments a search is more

tedious because there is a separate series of Board of Trade "Proprieties," where all those documents are to be found mixed up together, though in chronological order, so that you have to search through probably half a dozen volumes, instead of one, to enable you to find the special documents relating to the particular Colony you are in quest of. No sooner however does the British Government take over the government of a Proprietary Colony than it immediately becomes a Royal Government under a distinct and separate series, as North Carolina from 1720 and South Carolina from 1730. I think the system adopted by the Lords of Trade in the reigns of William and Mary and Queen Anne is worthy of great commendation, for so complete are the cross references on the endorsements of the original papers of that period and in the "Entry Books," which contain letters to the Governors, their Commissions, Instructions &c., &c., that after studying the system it is not difficult to trace all that took place in any matter of importance which came before the Lords of Trade. There is another series of Board of Trade papers called "Plantations General," which as the title implies refers to the Plantations in general, being Reports and Representations of the Lords of Trade to the King and Privy Council and other Departments of the home Government on the state and condition of more than one Colony, frequently on all of them, circular letters to the several Governors on all kinds of subjects, additional instructions, and in short on all matters which concern the Plantations in general and cannot be assigned to any one Colony in particular. Perhaps the most valuable of the Board of Trade series are their Journals, which consist of upwards of one hundred volumes, commencing with the year 1675, down to the dissolution of that Board. One regrets but too often the meagre entries on subjects one is most anxious to know all about. When however persons interested in the matter in controversy, such for instance as the advisability or otherwise of confirming

a certain Act, are summoned before the Lords of Trade the account is generally pretty full and satisfactory. One thing must not be forgotten that these Journals most distinctly give an account of all that came before their Lordships, even, as is too frequently the case, if the Governors' letters and other papers in connection therewith are only "read."

It will perhaps be as well to state the relative proportion of volumes for each Colony.

NEW ENGLAND numbers 51 vols. in Board of Trade series and 5 vols. in America and West Indies series.

MASSACHUSETTS, dated from 1741, numbers 90 vols. Board of Trade and 15 vols. America and West Indies.

NEW HAMPSHIRE, from 1691, numbers 22 vols. Board of Trade and 10 vols. America and West Indies.

NEW YORK 123 vols. Board of Trade and 33 vols. America and West Indies.

NEW JERSEY, from 1702, numbers 38 vols. Board of Trade and 14 vols. America and West Indies.

RHODE ISLAND, CONNECTICUT and PENNSYLVANIA are in Proprieties.

MARYLAND numbers 32 vols. Board of Trade and 6 vols. America and West Indies.

NORTH CAROLINA in Proprieties, up to 1730.

SOUTH CAROLINA in Proprieties, up to 1720.

NORTH, CAROLINA, from 1730, numbers 42 vols. Board of Trade and 17 vols. America and West Indies.

SOUTH CAROLINA, from 1720, numbers 145 vols. Board of Trade and 25 vols. America and West Indies.

VIRGINIA 93 vols. Board of Trade and 45 vols. America and West Indies.

GEORGIA, from 1732, numbers 53 vols. Board of Trade and 16 vols. America and West Indies.

PLANTATIONS GENERAL 60 vols. Board of Trade and 39 vols. America and West Indies.

TO AND FROM GOVERNORS IN AMERICA, 1743-1761, 13 vols. in America and West Indies.

MILITARY CORRESPONDENCE, EXPEDITIONS, ORDERS IN COUNCIL, &c., &c., about 250 vols. in America and West Indies.

Besides these fifteen hundred volumes, which include an almost unbroken series of the Journals of Council and Assembly of each Colony, which by the way I have reason to believe are far from complete on your side, we have a fine collection of the Acts of Assembly which were periodically transmitted to the British Government by the several Governors; these Acts are all certified and were sent over under the Great Seal of the Colony, but sad to relate the seals have been removed for convenience of binding, as frequently notified on the Acts themselves. This series of Acts consists of one hundred and eighteen volumes, and although I regret to say many of the earlier Acts are missing still it is a grand collection, and from the date of the commencement of each series it is generally unbroken and complete. It may perhaps appear strange that with two or three noteworthy exceptions we have no record of Grants of Land—the only three exceptions being New York and North and South Carolina; the Grants in New York date from 1665 and are contained in one large volume, those in North Carolina from 1725 to 1771, and those in South Carolina from 1674 to 1765, in a somewhat similar volume. Nevertheless it must be remembered that each Governor had special clauses in his instructions as to the granting of land, one clause being that every grant was to be registered in the Surveyor General's Office in the Colony, and therefore when the Governor referred to these Grants of Land, which was very seldom, he would send home simply a list of the names to whom the Grants were made with the number of acres. This is certainly not generally known, or at all events remembered, in the United States, for I have had scores of queries on this subject to which I have scarcely ever been able to return satisfactory answers.

It is almost needless to observe that in our Great National Establishment the British Museum are preserved among the magnificent collection of manuscripts, very many

valuable papers relating to early American history. But these it will be remembered have for the most part been acquired by gift, legacy or purchase from private or official persons, and although of the highest value and importance they are essentially of a somewhat different character from our Public Records. Our Public Records have never been out of official custody, and as is well known, any Public Record copied, stamped with the office seal and duly certified by an Assistant Keeper of the Public Records, is by the "Public Record Act" admitted as legal evidence in a Court of Law in this country just the same as the original would be. This is certainly of the highest importance, not only to the legal, but also to the historical and literary profession, as showing incontestably the undoubted authenticity of all documents in the British Public Record Office.

As may readily be imagined, it is not always easy to decipher the crumpled and peculiar handwriting of many of these early papers. Occasionally those who have attempted to copy them have fallen into most singular blunders. I will only quote two or three to be found in "New York Documents," Vol. III. The word "rendezvous" has been transformed into and copied "landing on." Again, "There are no soldiers" has been copied instead of "there are 100 soldiers," a serious mistake; and in a translation from the French M. Hertel is made to say, "I arrived in alarm," when what he really did say was, "I arrived at the army."

I know of no Government official who seems to have occupied so much time in trying to keep himself well informed of the condition and character of our Colonies as Sir Joseph Williamson, as evidenced by the mass of notes and minutes in his own handwriting, most difficult to read—neither do I know of any public official less accurate. This is the more to be wondered at as he is known to have been most painstaking in the numerous official employments which he held at various times, some of which were of the highest trust and importance. Not only did he fill the

Offices of Under Secretary and Secretary of State in the reign of Charles II., for a considerable time, but he also took a prominent part both at the Congress at Cologne and in the Treaties of Nimeguen and Ryswick, and at last became Keeper of Her Majesty's State Papers.

But Sir Joseph Williamson was not the only Government official who was at times inaccurate.

There is an Order of the Privy Council dated 23 February, 1703/4, appointing Dudley Digges a Member of the Council of the *Island of Virginia*. Again, Mr. West, the Counsel at Law to the Lords of Trade, in a report dated 10 May, 1725, on certain Acts passed in Pennsylvania, speaks of that Colony as *an Island*, while the Duke of Newcastle, himself Secretary of State in the reign of George II., called New England *an Island*, so that even Members of the Government in those days do not seem to have troubled themselves very much about the geographical position of our Colonies.

It was not unusual to reward public men of distinguished ability with seats at the Board of Trade and Plantations—Locke was in the first place appointed Secretary to the Lords Commissioners in October, 1673, with a salary of £500 per annum, and his ten years experience of Colonial Affairs must have materially added to his usefulness at that Board. Twenty-two years later, in 1695, he was appointed one of the Lords Commissioners. Waller, Prior and Newton were likewise appointed to a similar office, while Addison became Under Secretary of State, Pepys Secretary to the Admiralty, and Steele held the office of Commissioner of Stamps besides other appointments.

I well know how many invaluable publications have been issued by the various historical societies in America, but these are I submit but so many chapters of a History, fragmentary as it were and incomplete. It is some fifty years since the State of New York published the 11 vols. 4to of their *Documentary History*, but only quite recently that North Carolina published under the editorship of the Hon-

orable W. L. Saunders, Secretary of State, the ten royal 8vo volumes of their Colonial Records, Mr. Saunders just living to complete his task. These latter volumes are a monument to the Secretary's fame, and the correct elucidation of the Colonial history of his native State. I know of no more masterly summing up of the different periods in the history of North Carolina than the able introductions prefixed to each volume of this work. I may add that the Legislature of South Carolina has lately voted money for a similar work which is now going forward rapidly towards completion.

I have made a life-long study of these Colonial Records of which I have given so very imperfect an account, but I shall be well satisfied if I succeed in rivetting the attention of so learned and discriminating a body of scholars as the American Antiquarian Society to the carrying out a scheme I have had at heart for the past thirty years—which is earnestly to urge upon the respective Governments of those States of America which have a history from their first settlement, to obtain at the earliest opportunity complete copies of their invaluable records in the British Public Record Office. The advantages of so doing cannot be overrated, and I venture to say from my own long experience that the cost would soon be repaid, inasmuch as American students of their own history, instead of being obliged as they are now, frequently at great inconvenience and always at considerable expense, to employ Agents in this country to make searches and copies for them, would be able if copies of these records were within their own reach, to do this themselves or at all events to employ those with whom they are personally acquainted to assist them in so congenial a work. In illustration of my remarks I may perhaps be allowed to say that there is scarcely a writer of history in your Great Republic whom, during the past forty years, I have not had the honor of assisting in a greater or less degree, and I am even now proud to number my American correspondents by the score.

MEMOIR OF MAJOR-GENERAL THOMAS HARRISON.

BY CHARLES H. FIRTH.

THOMAS HARRISON was a native of Newcastle-under-Lyme in the County of Staffordshire. His grandfather Richard Harrison was mayor of that borough in 1594 and 1608. His father, also named Richard, was four times mayor of his native town, viz.: in 1626, 1633, 1643 and 1648, and was an Alderman at the time of his death. Contemporary authorities agree in describing the second Richard Harrison as a butcher by trade, and the register of the parish church of Newcastle states that he was buried on March 25, 1653. The same register also records the burial of his widow "Mrs. Mary Harrison, of the Cross," on May 18, 1658.

Thomas Harrison, the future regicide, was born in 1616. "Thomas Harrison filius Richardi, bapt. July 2"¹ is the entry in the baptismal register of the parish for the year. His father then resided in a house opposite to the Market-Cross, which was pulled down some years ago and replaced by shops.

Of Thomas Harrison's early life little is known. He was probably educated at the grammar school of the town, or of some neighboring town. He does not appear to have been a member of either University. After leaving school he became clerk to an attorney, Thomas Houlker² of Clif-

¹ For all facts derived from the register of Newcastle-under-Lyme, and for all extracts from the records of the borough I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Robert Fenton, of Newcastle-under-Lyme.

² Thomas Houlker died on Sept. 8, 1648. His brother-in-law Richard Smyth, recording in 1660 the execution of General Harrison, adds the words "one my brother Houlker's clerk" (Obituary of Richard Smyth, pp. 21, 52). Sir John Bramston, in his autobiography, states that his relation, John Bramston, was "putt to an attorney a clerke, but when the wars began his fellow clerke, Harrison, persuaded him to take armes" (this is that famous rogue Harrison one of the King's judges) (p. 21.)

ford's Inn. In 1642 when civil war was evidently approaching a number of young men belonging to the Inns of Court resolved to instruct themselves in the use of arms, procured an experienced soldier to drill them, and met to exercise in the Artillery-Ground in London. When Parliament resolved to raise a life-guard for its General, the Earl of Essex—which body was to consist of 100 gentlemen under the command of Sir Philip Stapleton—most of these zealous young lawyers entered this guard. Amongst their number were Edmund Ludlow, Charles Fleetwood, Thomas Harrison, Robert Hammond and many others who afterwards gained rank and fame in the parliamentary army. The life-guard was in fact the training school in which young gentlemen of zeal and courage received the elements of their military education.¹ After six months or a year passed in its ranks the young trooper who had proved his courage and ability was given a commission as captain and sent to his native county to raise a troop, or if his local influence was sufficient, even a regiment. Thus Harrison's friend Charles Fleetwood, a simple trooper in September, 1642, fought as a captain at Newbury in September, 1643, and became, probably in the autumn of the same year, colonel of a regiment of horse in the Army of the Eastern Association under the Earl of Manchester. Harrison left Essex's guard with Fleetwood, and became major of Fleetwood's regiment. Both were in their religious views strong Independents, and, like Cromwell, strove to secure soldiers of similar views to fill their ranks. "Look," writes an angry Presbyterian, "on Colonel Fleetwood's regiment with his Major Harrison, what a cluster of preaching officers and troopers there is."² The regiment fought under Cromwell's command at the battle of Marston Moor, and Harrison seems to have been selected to carry an account of the victory to the Committee of Both

¹ *Ludlow's Memoirs*, ed. 1751, p. 17.

² *Manchester's Quarrel with Cromwell* (Camden Society), p. 72.

Kingdoms in London. The Presbyterians complained that the Independents claimed all the glory of that day to themselves, and depreciated the services of the Scots, sending Harrison "to trumpet all over the City their own praises, to our prejudice, making all believe that Cromwell alone, with his unspeakably valorous regiments, had done all that service." Such recriminations, however, are part of the history of every battle, and there is no evidence that Harrison endeavored unduly to magnify his own services.

In the spring of 1645, when the "New Model" Army was organized, Fleetwood's regiment became part of it, and Harrison served in it during the campaigns of 1645 and 1646. He took part in the battles of Naseby and Langport. Richard Baxter, then chaplain to Colonel Whalley's regiment, was standing near Harrison at Langport at the moment when the royalists began to turn and run, and heard him "with a loud voice break forth into the praises of God with fluent expressions, as if he had been in a rapture."¹ General Fairfax chose Harrison to carry his despatch, and on 15 July, 1645, the latter gave a narrative of the victory to the House of Lords, and was thanked by them for his share in it (*Lords Journals*, vii., 496). At the storming of Basing House, on October 14, 1645, Major Harrison—"that godly and gallant gentleman," as Hugh Peters terms him, greatly distinguished himself. By his hand fell Major Cuttle (or Cuffand), Major of the Marquis of Winchester's regiment, "a man of great account amongst them, and a notorious papist." He slew also another officer, "Robinson the player, who, a little while before the storm, was known to be mocking and scorning the Parliament and our army." A story popular amongst the royalists asserts that Robinson had laid down his arms and received a prom-

¹ Letters of Robert Baxter, ed. Laine, II., 200.

Holger Ransdorff, p. 56. In the article on Harrison in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, I have quoted as referring to Harrison a passage from p. 37 of Baxter's *Life*. I now believe the passage refers to Cromwell. Baxter's language, however, is open to both constructions.

ise of quarter, when Harrison shot him with a pistol, saying, "Cursed be he that doeth the work of the Lord negligently." But it is impossible, for if any officer under Cromwell's command had committed such an act, he would have been immediately court-martialled and cashiered.¹

The first civil war practically ended with the surrender of Oxford on June 20, 1646. Harrison was one of the officers appointed by Fairfax to negotiate the terms of the capitulation.² Peace seemed to be assured, and the Parliament proceeded to recruit its numbers by new elections to fill the places of those who had been expelled for adopting the King's cause. Harrison now entered political life as member from the borough of Wendover.³ It is probable that his marriage took place either about this time, or in the autumn of the following year. He married Catherine, daughter of Ralph Harrison. His father-in-law, who is described as a woollen-draper in Watling street, London, was an ardent supporter of the Parliamentary cause. In 1642, he had been second captain in the "Yellow Regiment" of the London trained bands, was lieutenant-colonel of the same regiment in 1643, and became colonel of it in the latter part of 1647.⁴ He adhered to the Independents

¹ Sprigge, *Anglia Rediviva*, ed. 1834, p. 151; Godwin, *Civil War in Hampshire*, p. 241. *Mercurius Civicus* fr. Oct. 9-16, 1645, says that Harrison slew "one Robinson, son to the doorkeeper of Blackfriars play-house, and the Marquis's major, with his own hands, as they were getting over the works."⁵ The charge against Harrison is generally quoted from Wright's "Historia Histrionica," published in 1699; that work is reprinted in Lowe's edition of Clibber's *Apology* (l., xxix.). I believe the story is first to be found in *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, or some other royalist newspaper, in 1648. The leaders of the army were all of them honorably solicitous that promises of quarter, and articles of surrender should be rigidly observed, and no such breach of the laws of war would have been left unpunished.

² Sprigge, *Anglia Rediviva*, p. 264.

³ Names of members returned to serve in Parliament, l., 485.

⁴ A pamphlet entitled "A pair of Spectacles from the City," 4to, 1648, describes Ralph Harrison as a "silly, weak, old man," "of no estate," "a fellow that carried himself like a fool and a coward at Cheriton," made colonel "only that Colonel Harrison (being forced to marry his daughter * * *) is his son-in-law, that's desert enough" (p. 10). This supplies the evidence necessary to complete Colonel Chester's note on the Harrison genealogy. Colonel Chester's

in their struggle with the Presbyterians, and was a staunch supporter of the Commonwealth.

In the spring of 1647, Thomas Harrison was again in active service. Parliament, in April, 1646, had appointed Philip Lord Lisle (Algernon Sydney's brother) to command in Ireland, with the title of Lord-Lieutenant. Lisle's departure was delayed by want of money and he could not sail till February, 1647. Harrison was offered a post under Lisle, sailed with him in February, 1647, returned in April, and was thanked for his services by the House of Commons on May 9, 1647.¹ His return coincided with the rupture between Parliament and the Army, and Harrison, at once, threw in his lot with the Army. He signed the manifesto which the officers addressed to the city of London (June 10, 1647). He was also one of the representative officers appointed by Fairfax to negotiate with the Commissioners of the Parliament, and one of those charged by the Army to draw up their "Proposals" for the settlement of the Kingdom (July, 1647). Before long he became notorious for his extreme views. The scheme of compromise agreed on by the Army leaders in November, 1647, was extremely distasteful to him. In the council of officers he declared against any recognition of the legislative authority of the House of Lords. "If the Lords," he said, "had a right to a negative voice, he would not go against it; but if they had usurped it, for an hundred, or two hundred, or a thousand years [past], the wrong was the greater, and they [ought] to be debarred of that power." At the same time he denounced

conclusions are based on wills consulted by him. *Notes and Queries*, Nov. 13, 1880. Mr. Gordon Goodwin has been obliging enough to look up these wills for me and to supply additional extracts.

Ralph Harrison's military career can be followed by the different printed lists of London trained-bands. See especially the *List of Officers of the London trained-bands in 1643*, edited by the Hon. Harold Dillon, *Archæologia*, vol. iii.; and John Lucas's "London in Arms Displayed," a MS. in the Bodleian Library. Lucas gives Ralph Harrison i. arms.

¹ *Sydney Papers*, ed. Blencowe, pp. 6, 13, 17; *Commons Journals*, V. 63, 106. *Carte's Life of Ormond*, iii., 324, ed. 1851.

any proposal to reinstate Charles I. “The King was a man of blood; and therefore the engagement [to preserve his person and authority was] taken off, and they were to prosecute him.” (November 11, 1647).¹ At present, however, these views were too incompatible with the political exigencies of the moment to find a reception. Wiser heads saw plainly that it was necessary to unite all sections of the popular party to meet the dangers of a new civil war.

Harrison was now in command of a regiment. The quarrel between the Army and the Parliament had ended in the expulsion of the officers who adhered to the Parliament, from the ranks of the Army. The command of Colonel Sheffield’s regiment was given by Fairfax to Harrison, and similar changes took place amongst the subordinate officers of the regiment. William Rainborow, brother of the more famous Col. Thomas Rainborow, became Major,² whilst Stephen Winthrop,³—fourth son of the first Governor Winthrop and brother-in-law of the two Rainborows,—became a captain under Harrison. Henry Cromwell, the second surviving son of the Protector, was given at the same time a troop in the regiment. In May, 1648, Harrison’s regiment was ordered north to suppress the royalist rising, and to meet the expected invasion of the Scots. “I am now,” writes Fairfax on May 18, “sending Colonel Harrison with his regiment of horse, and some others, into Cheshire, to oppose their further proceedings, and with what assistance he can get from the gentry and well effected in those parts, to endeavour the clearing of them from the adverse forces.” At the end of June,

¹ The Clarke Papers (Camden Society), I., 182, 216, 417. Rushworth, VI., 555, 603. The Book of Army Declarations, etc., 1647, p. 57.

² Old Parliamentary History, xvii., 150.

³ On Stephen Winthrop, see Massachusetts Historical Collections, series V., vol. viii., p. 189. The statements made as to the dates of regimental changes are derived from my notes on the Clarke MS., and my collections from various sources. Winthrop succeeded Harrison as colonel in 1656.

Harrison having accomplished this task, joined the little army with which Colonel Lambert was endeavoring to check the combined forces of the royalists and the Scots.

On July 8th, Hamilton entered England and Lambert was obliged to retreat before him. He wrote to the Speaker on July 20th from Barnard Castle in Durham: "On Friday night last [14th], the enemy with his whole body marched up to us and pitched that night within a mile or two of Penrith where we quartered; and taking into consideration our small numbers compared with theirs, the consequence to these parts and the whole kingdom if we had been failed by them, and not knowing the pleasure of the Parliament upon the coming of the Scotch Army into this kingdom, we resolved to retreat towards Appleby and further as occasion should be." (Portland MS., i., 488.)

On Monday, July 17th, Hamilton attacked Lambert's quarters in force. The parliamentarians were practically surprised, but thanks to the gallantry of Harrison's regiment, retreated without serious loss. A letter printed in the *Perfect Diurnal* for July 24-31, 1648, gives the following account: "We retreated from Penrith and came to Appleby very safe (the enemy never appearing in our reare at all) where we lay from Saturday till Monday morning without disturbance save illnesse of weather; though the enemy marched after with their whole body, and pitched with their foot between the two bridges near Brougham Castle, seven miles from Appleby, and their horse about them. But on Monday morning they marched again with their whole body towards us, and (it being a very darke, rainy morning) were within a mile of our horse guards, before they were discovered, all our horse having been that night (in expectation of their appoach) drawn together and continued untill the morning, and then not hearing of the enemies march, and by reason of the great raine and cold in which they had been all night (and not

in quarter for a fortnight before) they were dismissest to some townes neare about Appleby for refreshment. Upon nine a clock came this alarm and the enemy presently appeared in three great bodies upon three hills very advantageous for them within halfe a mile of Appleby so that our horse were forced to retreat to the town, and the enemy followed very hard, but Colonell Harrison with the horse guard charged the enemy, and gave a cheek to their advance, and (being more forward and bold then his men did second him) having hold himself of one of the enemies horse-colours he received three wounds, a cut on the bridle wrist, and a prick in the back and thigh, but we hope none of them mortal." Harrison's charge checked the attack and gave time to the foot to form, and the cavalry to draw from their quarters into a body. The Scots were repulsed with trifling loss and Lambert decided to retreat further southward, and nearer to his expected reinforcements.¹

In the royalist newspapers, Harrison was jubilantly reported to be mortally wounded. "He got a sore wound yet not mortal," says Captain John Hodgson in his account of the campaign (*Autobiography of Captain John Hodgson*, ed. 1882, p. 30). Another account of the skirmish adds that Harrison went to Lancaster to be cured (*Tenth Report of the Historical MSS. Commission*, pt. vi., p. 168).

The result of this was that Harrison was not present at the great victory at Preston on August 17th, in which his

¹ "The Moderate" for July 18-25, 1648, gives a different account of Harrison's wound. A letter from Appleby printed there, says: "The Castle is possess'd by some of Col. Harrison's regiment, the town being as considerable for quarters, though not fortifid; this lying between the English and Scots army, occasions a dispute for quarters, the Scots army taking advantage of Col. Harrison's and the Lancashire forces quartered in and neer that, and therefore advance with a supernumerary brigade of above 3000. Col. Harrison carelessly (supposing security) walks into the town, the Scots upon notice advance a party, which fell upon the Col. without mercy (though desired), who, regaining some freedom, and quarter denied, having three more with him, flights it out resolutely; by this time a party sallies out of the Castle for his relief, which effectually performs it." Rushworth VII., 1201 is a reprint of the *Perfect Diurnal*.

regiment played an important part, as Cromwell's despatch records. "There being a lane very deep and ill, up to the enemy's army, and leading to the town, we commanded two regiments of horse, the first whereof was Colonel Harrison's and the next was my own to charge up that lane; and on either side of them advanced the main-battle" (Carlyle's *Cromwell*, Letter lxiv.).

By the autumn, Harrison was sufficiently recovered from his wounds to take an active share in the revolution which brought the King to a scaffold and made England a republic. No man, indeed, was personally more responsible for the trial and execution of the King. Harrison was present at the great council of war held at St. Albans on November 16th, when the Remonstrance of the Army was read and approved. In that manifesto the treaty then in progress at Newport was denounced and the King's punishment demanded. On the following day, four colonels, of whom Harrison was one, wrote to Colonel Hammond (the King's gaoler) urging him to use all possible vigilance to prevent his prisoner's escape. "As you tender the interest of this nation, of God's people, or of any moral men, or as you tender the ending of England's troubles, or desire that justice and righteousness may take place . . . see to the securing of that person from escape. . . . We are confident you will receive in a few days the duplicate of this desire and an assurance from the General and Army to stand by you in it; and in the mean time, for our parts, though it may not be very considerable to you, we do hereby engage to own you with our lives and fortunes therein, which we should not so forwardly express, but that we are impelled to in duty and conscience to God and man."¹

A few days later, some representatives of the Levellers sought an interview with the leading officers at Windsor,

¹ Birch, *Letters between Col. Robert Hammond, etc.* 1764, Vol. p. 87. The letter was probably written by Ireton. It is given in full in the Appendix.

and represented to them at length their objections to the course proposed by the Army. They demanded before the Army put an end to King and Parliament some agreement should be arrived at as to the future government of the nation. "We pressed hard," says Lilburne, "for security, before they attempted these things in the least, lest when they were done we should be solely left to their wills and swords, by which they might rule over us arbitrarily, without declared laws, as a conquered people." Harrison admitted the justice of their demand, but urged that immediate action was necessary, and all delay unsafe. "We cannot," said he, "stay so long from going to London with the Army as to perfect an agreement; and without our speedy going we are unavoidably destroyed. For we fully understand that the treaty betwixt the King and Parliament is almost concluded upon; at the conclusion of which we shall be called upon by King and Parliament to disband, the which if we do, we are unavoidably destroyed for what we have done already; and if we do not disband they will by Act of Parliament proclaim us traitors and declare us to be the only hinderers of settling peace in the nation; and then we shall never be able to fight with the interest of King and Parliament; so that you will be destroyed as well as we; for we certainly understand that Major General Brown, etc., are underhand preparing an army against us. And therefore I profess, I confess, I know not well to say to your reasons, they are so strong; but our necessities are so great, that we must speedily go or perish; and to go without giving you some content, is hazardous too."¹

The result of the discussion was the appointment of a joint committee of officers, Levellers and other sections of the popular party to lay the basis of a general agreement. In their deliberations was drawn up the constitutional scheme submitted at the beginning of December to the

¹ The Legal Fundamental Liberties of the People of England, by John Lilburne, 4to, 1649, second ed., p. 36.

Council of War under the name of "An Agreement of the People."

As Parliament took no notice of the Remonstrance against the Treaty, sent them by the Army, the Army marched on London. Garrison was one of the Committee appointed by the Council of War to draw up the declaration stating the grounds of the Army's advance (November 28th).¹ His regiment, however, was still in the North, and only one company of it was in the army which on December 2d occupied London.

Whilst the main body of the army marched on London, a small detachment seized Charles at Newport, and conveyed him from the Isle of Wight to the securer prison of Hurst Castle on the Hampshire coast. On the 15th of December, the Council of Officers appointed a committee to consider of the best ways and grounds for bringing the King to justice, and voted that he should be removed from Hurst Castle to Windsor. On the 16th, Garrison with a body of horse and dragoons left London to fetch the King. Late on the night of the 17th, he arrived at Hurst Castle, alone, to make arrangements for the King's removal. His coming created great alarm in the minds of the King and his attendants, for Charles had often been warned that a party in the Army meant to murder him, and he believed that Garrison had come as his assassin. Garrison however left Hurst Castle without even seeing the King and Charles first met him during the journey to Windsor. On the 19th of December, Charles was conveyed from Hurst Castle to Winchester. The next day, on the road between Farnham and Abresford he and his escort passed a troop of horse drawn up in good order. "In the lead of it was the captain gallantly mounted and armed; a velvet montero² was on his head, a new buff-coat upon his back and a crimson silk scarf about his waist richly

¹ The Declaration is printed in Rushworth, vii., 1341.

² A montero-cap.

fringed. As the King passed by with an easie pace (as delighted to see men well horsed and armed) the Captain gave the King a bow with his head *a-la-soldade*, which his Majesty requited. This was the first time the King saw that Captain."

" Mr. Herbert riding a little behind the King he called him to come near, and asked him who the Captain was; and being told it was Major Harrison, the King view'd him more narrowly, and fixed his eyes so steadily upon him, as made the Major abashed, and fall back to his troop sooner than probably he intended. The King said, 'he looked like a soldier, and that his aspect was good—and that having some skill in faces, if he had observed him so well before, he should not have harboured that ill opinion of him.'

The same night, at Farnham, whilst the King was waiting for his supper, he saw Harrison at the far end of the room talking to another officer. "The King beckoned to him with his hand to come nearer to him: which he did with due reverence. The King then taking him by his arm, drew him aside towards the window, where for half an hour or more they discoursed together; and amongst other things the King minded him of the information concerning him, which, if true, rendered him an enemy in the worst sense to his person, to which the Major, in his own vindication, assured his Majesty that what was so reported of him was not true; What he had said, he might repeat, 'That the Law was equally obliging to great and small, and that justice had no respect to persons'; which his Majesty finding affectedly spoken and to no good end, he left off further communication with him, and went to supper."¹

¹ Sir Thomas Herbert's Memoirs, ed. 1702, pp. 98, 97, 98. On Harrison's trial a witness deposed to hearing Harrison relate this incident to his fellow-regicides at a committee meeting during the King's trial. "He was making a narrative of some discourses that passed between his late Majesty and himself. . . . He said that the King as he sate in the coach with him, was importunate to know what they intended to do with him . . . that the King asked 'What do

In the King's trial, Garrison throughout played a leading part. He was a member of several committees appointed to arrange matters of procedure connected with the trial, and attended eleven meetings of the King's judges. His signature is the sixteenth in order amongst those on the warrant for the King's execution. On February 8, 1649, he presented to the House of Commons the report of the committee appointed to make arrangements for the King's funeral, which was to take place at Windsor.¹

The arguments by which Garrison justified his share in the death of the King were those which he maintained eleven years later, before his own judges and on his own scaffold. The Kings of England, he asserted, are "accountable to Parliament." King Charles had "set up his standard against the People." "I would have abhorred," he continued, "to have brought him to account, had not the blood of Englishmen that had been shed"—Here his judges stopped him, and would not let him finish. On the scaffold, he expressed himself equally impenitent, and equally unconvinced that he had done wrong: "I have again and again besought the Lord with tears to make known his will and mind to me concerning it; and to this day he hath rather confirmed me in the justice of it."

The purging of the Parliament and the trial of the King had been affected by the coöperation of the minority of the Parliament with the Army. Authority was still nominally

they intend to do with me? Whether to murder me or no? And I said to him there was no such intention as to kill him, we have no such thoughts. But, saith he, the Lord hath reserved you for a public example of justice.' Garrison immediately took exception to the statement about the coach, and it appears from Herbert's narrative that the King did not use his coach during the journey to Windsor. The conversation itself however he admitted. "There was a little discourse between the King, and myself. The King had told me, that he had heard, that I should come privately to the Isle of Wight to offer some injury to him. But I told him I abhorred the thoughts of it." Trial of the Regicides, pp. 44, 54.

¹ Nason's Trial of King Charles I., fol., 1684; Commons Journals, VI., 127, 133; Grey's Examination of the 3d Volume of Neal's Puritans, Appendix, p. 135; "Speeches and Prayers."

vested in the remains of the Parliament, but the new government rested solely on the Army, and on the continued union of Parliament and Army its permanence depended. Throughout the King's trial the Council of Officers were discussing the constitution of the new state, and before the abolition of the monarchy was actually voted (Feb. 7, 1649) they presented their scheme of settlement to the Parliament (January 20, 1649).¹

The basis of this scheme was the draft which Lilburne and his committee had laid before the Council of Officers in the preceding December, but it had been considerably modified by them during their debates. The most important of these changes were concerning the powers to be left to the magistrate with respect to religious matters, and about the limits of toleration. Harrison was present in the stormy discussion of this question which took place on December 14th, but took little part in the debate. What he did say dwelt simply with the method of procedure. Let us, he urged, have the question plainly stated. In the end the question will be whether the Article of the Agreement which relates to religion shall be inserted or not; but first of all let us discuss whether the Magistrate has or ought to have any power to meddle with a man's religion or not. Some officers suggested the adjournment of the Article on religion till the end, and to proceed first with the purely political articles in which they were more ready to agree. Harrison replied that this would seem like slighting the subject, and "because this is that which sticks upon the consciences of men," proposed to refer the Article to a committee of men of all interests instead of simply adjourning it.

January 13th, a month later, the Agreement came finally before the Council to be passed for presentation to Parliament. A last battle over it took place. Some objected

¹ An Agreement of the People of England, and the places therewith incorporated, for a secure and present Peace, upon grounds of common Right, Freedom and Safety. The old Parliamentary History, xviii., 519.

that the article concerning religion permitted the Magistrate to set up a state church and gave him too much power over "men conscientiously fearing God." It would be like the Covenant, urged William Erbery. That which they looked for to be for agreement proved to be a great disagreement amongst the nation, and so this "Agreement" would prove to be an hellish thing, and altogether tending to disagreement. It would unsettle the nation instead of settling it, for the only way to settle the nation was to remove its grievances. Why present the Agreement to the "so called Parliament ?" urged Cornet Joyce. Why apply to "the men at Westminster" at all? God had given the power to the Army, and charged them with a mission to fulfil. "Therefore," he said to Fairfax, "I must entreat your Excellency whom the Lord hath clearly called unto the greatest work of righteousness that ever was amongst men, that you and the Council go not to shift off that work which the Lord hath called you to. For my part I do verily believe that if there were not a spirit of fear upon you that He would make you instruments to the people of the things that he hath set before you. God hath said he will do those things by his people when they believe in him. They by belief shall remove mountains, and do such things as were never yet done by men on earth. . . . we should not so much endeavour to give away the power God hath called us unto."

Ireton had answered the objections made against the Agreement, but with men like Erbery and Joyce Harrison's opinion had far greater influence. He admitted that he himself agreed with some of their objections. "I believe," he said, "there are few here can say that it is in every particular to the satisfaction of their hearts." He went on to argue that there was nevertheless much that was good in it, and that every constitutional scheme must be fitted to the minds and consciences of those who were to receive it. "We find that Christ himself spoke as men were able to

bear." "While we are pleading for a liberty of conscience there is a like liberty to be given to other men."

As for the Article concerning religion it did but give a liberty to a good ruler to give liberty to men "to dispense the things of God." It might not give the individual Christian all the liberty which was his right—he himself did not think that it did—"but since it is my liberty, it is my liberty to part with that which is my right for a weak brother."

As for the Agreement in general, no agreement amongst men could establish God's kingdom. "It is not an Agreement amongst men that must overcome the hearts of men; it shall not be by might nor by strength of men, but by His Spirit." The object of the "Agreement" was this: God had cast very much power into the hands of the Army, and the Council of Officers. All along, the Army had professed that they would not make use of any opportunity of this kind to keep power in their own hands, but resign it again to Parliament and the nation. Now was the time to prove the truth of their professions. One argument, however, had for a moment made him hesitate. "This hath stuck: That the Word of God doth take notice that the powers of this world shall be given into the hand of the Lord and his Saints: that this is the day, God's own day, wherein he is coming forth in glory in the world; and he doth put forth himself very much by his people, and he says, that in that day wherein he will thresh the mountains, he will make use of Jacob as that threshing instrument. Now by this [leaving the settlement of the nation to Parliament] we seem to put power into the hands of the men of the world, when God doth wrest it out of their hands. But that having been my own objection as well as the objection of others, it had this answer in my heart." The answer was that the time was not yet come. "When that time shall be," the "Spirit of God" shall so "work" on the minds of men that their works shall be "answerable to his works," and

so shall we be "made able in wisdom and power to carry through things in a way extraordinary." But now there is "not such a spirit in men," no such willingness to coöperate in God's work, on the contrary. They say that "it is only to get power unto our own hands, that we may reign over them—to answer the lusts within us," not to answer God's call that we have acted. And so because the time was not yet come, and in order to "answer that reproach" cast upon the Army, Harrison urged that they should leave the settlement of the nation to Parliament instead of seeking to effect it themselves. Let them give back their power and leave things to be settled in the ordinary course. "Trust God and give them up in a common current again."

Harrison was not very sanguine that the presentation of the Army's constitutional scheme to Parliament, or that their constitutional scheme itself, would realize their lofty hopes. "By this," he said, "we do hold forth a liberty to all the people of God, though yet it may so fall out that it will go hardly with the people of God. I judge it will do so, and that this 'Agreement' will fall short. I think that God doth purposely design it shall fall short of that end we look for, because hee would have us know our place. Our 'Agreement' shall be from God, and not from men. And yet I think the band of God doth call for us to hold forth [this Agreement] to this nation and to all the world to vindicate that profession that we have all along made to God, and that we should let them know that we seek not ourselves, but for [the good of] men."¹

The arguments of Ireton and Harrison prevailed. The Agreement was passed, and, as intended, presented to the Parliament on Jan. 20, 1649. Parliament solemnly thanked

¹ This speech has been given at such length, because it throws great light on Harrison's ideas and on his subsequent action, because it is the only speech of any length by Harrison which has been preserved; and because it has not been published before. It is from vol. ii. of the papers of William Clarke, to be published by the Camden Society next year. The original is a rather chaotic collection of notes taken at the time.

its authors for their "good affections, great services and cordial expressions," and laid the document aside. Its jealousy of the Army led it to neglect the dictates of ordinary prudence. No two men, excepting Cromwell, were more responsible for the decision of the Army to leave the settlement of the kingdom to Parliament than Ireton and Harrison. Nevertheless, when the Council of State came to be elected, though Parliament passed a resolution that some of the officers of the Army should be members of the Council, the names of Ireton and Harrison were negatived as soon as they were proposed (Feb. 13, 1649). Yet both were also qualified as members of Parliament.

In the lower ranks of the Army, especially amongst the non-commissioned officers, there was a large party, who were not prepared to acquiesce in the decision of their leaders who regarded the "Agreement" as far too modest a programme, and were equally hostile both to Parliament and the Council of Officers. Headed by John Lilburne they began a pamphlet war, and drew up a series of petitions to Parliament couched in the most violent terms. One of the manifestoes of this party was: "The Hunting of the Foxes from Newmarket and Triploe Heaths to Whitehall, by Five Small Beagles, or the Grandee Deceivers Unmasked" (4to, 1649; Somers Tracts, ed. Scott, VI. 44). "Parliament," it asserts, "is indeed and in truth no parliament, but a representative glass of the Council of War, and the Council of War but the representative of Cromwell, Ireton and Harrison; and these are the all in all of this nation, which under these guises and names of parliament, army, general council, high court, and council of state, play all the strange pranks that are played."

Lilburne and other leaders of the movement were sent to the Tower, but the agitation continued, and in May, a section of the army broke into open revolt. Colonel Scroope's regiment mutinied at Salisbury, drove out their officers, and published a declaration. Four troops of Ireton's

regiment followed their example, and the united body marched into Berkshire, expecting to be joined by Harrison's regiment. But the greater part of Harrison's men adhered to their officers, and only two troops, those of Captain Peck and Captain Winthrop, threw in their lot with the mutineers.¹ At Burford, on the night of May 14, Cromwell surprised the quarters of the Levellers, took about four hundred of them prisoners, and dispersed the rest. Three of the ringleaders were shot; the rest, after exhortations from Okey, Harrison and Cromwell, professed penitence, and petitioned to be allowed to return to their duty.

After the dispersion of the Levellers, Fairfax and his officers proceeded to Oxford, where they were entertained by the University. Fairfax and Cromwell were created Doctors of Civil Law, whilst Harrison and ten other officers were made Masters of Arts (May 19, 1649).² About two months later (July 10th), Cromwell set out from London to take command of the expedition for the reconquest of Ireland. Before he left, the officers of the Army held a solemn prayer-meeting. Cromwell himself, aided by Colonel Goffe and Colonel Harrison, "did expound some places of Scripture excellently well and pertinent to the occasion." The regiments which were to serve in this expedition had been selected by lot, and as Harrison's was not one he shared neither the dangers nor the triumphs of the Irish war. An important command, however, was reserved for him in England. On July 16th, a number of gentlemen from South Wales presented a petition to Parliament asking that a commander-in-chief might be appointed for those parts in place of Colonel Horton who was to go to Ireland.³

¹ Edward Harrison, late chaplain of Colonel Harrison's regiment, published a pamphlet on behalf of Lilburne and the Levellers. His letter is given in the Appendix.

² Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses* (Fasti, f. 75), vol. ii., ed. 1721.

³ Commons Journals, VI., 260; *The Moderate*, July 10-17, 1649. Harrison's commission is amongst the Clarke MSS. See appendix of documents, *post*.

They requested that Marten should be named, but the House referred the matter to Fairfax, who selected Harrison (August 21st). He was commissioned as commander-in-chief of the commonwealth's forces in the seven counties of Monmouth, Glamorgan, Brecknock, Radnor, Cardigan, Caermarthen and Hereford, and in the parts of Gloucestershire on the south side of the Severn.¹

Harrison was also closely connected with Wales in another capacity. On February 23, 1650, Parliament passed an "Act for the better propagation and preaching of the gospel in Wales," appointing Harrison and some seventy other commissioners to see it carried out. They were given power to expel unfit or scandalous ministers, and to replace them by "godly and painful men of able gifts and knowledge."¹ Another commission of twenty-five ministers was appointed to recommend and approve fit persons "for the preaching of the Gospel in the said counties, as well in settled congregations and parochial charges, as in an itinerary course." The operations of these commissioners gave rise to great complaints, and to much controversy, and are still a subject of dispute, of indiscriminate blame from church-writers, and equally indiscriminate eulogy from non-conformists. Harrison throughout constituted himself the champion of the "Propagators," in parliament and outside it. Whilst he gained great influence amongst the Welsh Independents, Vavasor Powell and other leading ministers amongst the twenty-five commissioners obtained an influence over him which powerfully determined his later political career. Henceforth the extremer sects amongst the Independents regarded him as their natural head and their possible general.²

¹ Whitelock's *Memorials*, III., 66, ed. 1853.

² The case against the Propagators is given in Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*. The case for them is stated in the *History of Protestant Non-conformity in Wales*, by Dr. Thos. Rees. Pamphlets on the subject are very numerous. Amongst Harrison's colleagues as commissioners were Hugh Courtney, afterwards his associate in prison, and Stephen Winthrop.

In the summer of 1650, Cromwell returned from Ireland, on account of the imminence of a war with the Scots. Parliament intended Fairfax to command in chief and Cromwell again to act as his second in command. But Fairfax, after a moment's hesitation, refused the command, declaring himself unsatisfied that there was a just ground for the Parliament of England to send their army to invade Scotland, though stating that he was willing to act if the Scots should invade England. Parliament sent a deputation consisting of Cromwell, Harrison and three others to endeavor to remove Fairfax's scruples. "I think," urged Harrison, "there cannot be greater assurance, or human probability, of the intentions of any state than we have of theirs to invade our country; else what means their present levies of men and money, and their quartering soldiers upon our borders? It is not long since they did the like to us, and we can hardly imagine what other design they can have to employ their forces." "Human probabilities," sententiously answered Fairfax, "are not sufficient grounds to make war upon a neighbour nation," and persisted in the determination to lay down his commission. Vainly Lambert and Cromwell urged that his doing so would encourage the public enemy, and seem like a desertion of the cause. "It is," added Harrison, "the most righteous and the most glorious cause that ever any of this nation appeared in, and now, when we hope that the Lord will give a gracious issue and conclusion to it, for your excellency then to give it over will sadden the hearts of many of God's people."¹

Fairfax resigned on June 26th. Cromwell was appointed Commander-in-chief on the same day, and left London on the 29th. A large party of Puritan notables accompanied him on his first day's journey. Harrison wrote apologizing for not being one of this party, and sending his last words of counsel to Cromwell. "The business you goe upon is

weighty, as ever yet you undertook ; the issue plainly and deeply concernes the life or death of the Lord's people. . . . I doubt not your success, but I thinke faith and praier must be the chief engines, as heretofore the ancient worthies, through faith subdued kingdomes, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, and turned to flight the armies of the aliens." ¹

Four days before Fairfax's resignation, the Parliament, on the recommendation of the Council of State, had appointed Harrison "to be commander-in-chief of such forces as are appointed for the security of those parts, in the absence of the Lord General and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and in subordination to them." ²

Henceforth he is always described as major-general, a title given him occasionally, but more by courtesy than right, during his command in South Wales. He became, also, on 3 July, 1650, Lieutenant of the Ordinance, and in February, 1651, was elected a member of the Council of State. Harrison's rise in rank and office was naturally accompanied by a corresponding change in his manner of living, which some regarded as inconsistent with his religious professions. "The Major General," says Mrs. Hutchinson, "who was but a mean man's son, and of a mean education and no estate before the war, had gathered an estate of £2,000 a year and maintained his coach and family at a height as if they had been born to a principality." She goes on to tell a story illustrating his love of fine clothes. The King of Spain was the first monarch who sent an ambassador owning the English republic. The day before the solemn reception of the Spanish ambassador by the Parliament, Harrison had admonished certain young members of Parliament "that

¹ State Papers addressed to Oliver Cromwell, ed. by J. Nicholls, 1748, p. 10. See documents in Appendix for the complete letter.

² Commons Journals, VI., 428, 21 June, 1650. He now received a new commission as Major General. Cal. S. P. Dom. 1650, p. 222.

now the nations sent to them, they should labour to shine before them in wisdom, piety, righteousness and justice, and not in gold and silver and worldly bravery, which did not become Saints." Next day, Colonel Hutchinson and these young gentlemen, touched by this exhortation, appeared at the reception in plain black suits, and with airs of conscious virtue. But Garrison himself "came that day in a scarlet coat and cloak, both laden with gold and silver lace, and the coat so covered with clinquant that scarcely could one discern the ground, and in this glittering habit set himself just under the Speaker's chair."

Mrs. Hutchinson's stories show something of the jealousy of the country-gentleman's wife against the butcher's son who had risen so high, and doubtless she knew a colonel in the militia whom Garrison's post would just have fitted. But probably there was some truth in her criticisms, and she qualifies them in her conclusion. "This was part of his weakness; the Lord at last lifted him above these poor earthly elevations, which then and some time after prevailed too much with him."¹

The duties of Garrison's post were to see to the guard of the Parliament and Council of State, to forward re-enforcements to the army in Scotland, to organize the newly-levied English militia, and to suppress attempted royalist insurrections. On October 22d, he reviewed 8,000 of the newly-raised forces in Hyde Park.²

In November, a little royalist rising took place in Norfolk, and in the spring of 1651, plans were discovered for a general royalist insurrection, to be assisted by a diversion from Scotland. On February 4th, Colonel Rich with 1,500 horse and dragoons was ordered to the northern counties, and on March 22d, the Council of State informed Cromwell that they had resolved to send Garrison himself "into Lancashire and the northern parts, as a man more known

¹ Life of Colonel Hutchinson, ii., 169-172, ed. 1885.

² *Mercurius Politicus*, Oct. 22, 1650.

there, and capable to embody a greater number of men upon occasion than Colonel Rich; whereby a considerable strength may be ready in those parts, as well to prevent any irruptions from Scotland, as to correspond with you if there should be cause."¹

At the beginning of June, Harrison was at Penrith with a body of about 5,000 men. Half of these consisted of horse drawn from the newly-raised militia, badly officered and of inferior quality, as he complained to Cromwell. He had, also, some troops of volunteer horse raised by the Congregational churches in London and Wales, and detachments of foot collected from different garrisons. In July, Cromwell summoned Harrison into Scotland, and he joined the army on July 19th, with about 3,000 men.²

The moment when Harrison joined Cromwell was the turning point of the campaign. For about a month Cromwell had been vainly attempting to find a way through David Lesly's intrenchments about Stirling, or to tempt him from his strong position. At last, finding a front attack entirely hopeless, he resolved to throw a detachment across the Firth of Forth into Fifeshire, and dislodge Lesly by cutting off his supplies, or attacking him in the rear. On July 17th, Colonel Overton had landed in Fife, and on Sun-

¹ Cal. S. P. Dom. 1651, pp. 34, 92, 97, 102.

² For Harrison's instructions, see Cal. S. P. Dom. 1651, pp. 156, 187, 191, 192, 202. The *Faithful Scout*, for June 27—July 4, estimates his forces at about 8,000 horse and foot. Between 5,000 and 6,000 is the more moderate estimate given by "Several Proceedings in Parliament" for the same date. Cromwell's answer to Harrison's complaints of his troops, is printed by Carlyle, dated May 3, 1651. A letter from Harrison's headquarters at Penrith, dated June 5, is amongst the documents appended to this paper. It is probably by Harrison himself. On the volunteer troops mentioned above see Cal. State Papers, Dom. 1651-52, p. 34. *Mercurius Politicus*, July 10-17, 1651, p. 424; *Several Proceedings in Parliament*, p. 1308.

The *Perfect Diurnal* for 21-28 July, says under Saturday, 19; "Major General Harrison came hither to his Excellency with divers of his officers; his forces are quartered about Edinburgh, being his own regiment of horse and other troops, 4 troops of dragoons under Major Mercer, Col. Ingoldsby's regiment, and some loose companies of foot." *Several Proceedings*, 24-31 July, gives further particulars.

day, July 20th, Major-General Lambert routed 5,000 Scots at Inverkeithing with the loss of about two-thirds of their force. Cromwell followed with the main body of his army, and laid siege to Perth which surrendered on August 2d. Harrison was left in command on the south side of the Firth with his own brigade of horse, a force of 3,000 horse and dragoons in all.¹

Charles II. took advantage of the opportunity to make a dash into England, and on August 2d, Harrison announced to Cromwell that the whole of the Scotch army was marching south, and that he himself was bound for Berwick to unite with the forces of the northern counties and hinder the King's march.

Cromwell ordered Lambert with about 3,000 horse to pursue the Scots at once, and "to trouble the enemy in the rear." He himself with the rest of the horse and nine regiments of foot followed as fast as the infantry could march. Harrison's instructions were to attend the enemy's motion, to flank them, straiten their provisions, keep them together, and impede their march as much as possible. On the 5th of August, Harrison was at Newcastle, where he stayed till the 7th, gathering all the horse he could get together, and sending letters to the commissioners of the northern counties exhorting them to collect all the foot they could raise to assist his own force. "Improve," said his letter to the Committee of Yorkshire, "all possible means God may put into your hands to give a check to this vile generation untill our army come up. . . I have about 3,000 horse, which I shall endeavour to dispose of as God in his love and wisdom shall instruct me; and wherewith I hope to give the enemy some trouble, if some foot could be speedily raised to break down bridges, or stop some passages upon them. However, considering the battle is the Lord's, and not ours, and it is alike to him

¹ See *Mercurius Politicus*, July 24-31, 1651. Nicholls's Letters and Papers of State addressed to Oliver Cromwell, 1748, p. 71.

to save by few or many, I hope we may be useful in this juncture, though we be few, mean, and none more unworthy. The Lord quicken you, me, and all that profess to fear him, to give all diligence in our stations to quit ourselves as the friends of Christ, against the men that will not have him to reign, though God hath sworn to set his Son upon his Holy Hill, and that they that oppose him shall be broken in pieces as a potter's vessel."

In a postscript, he added practical instructions that before the approach of the enemy all horses, cattle and provisions should be driven out of their way, and that as many of the foot as possible should be mounted.

From Newcastle Harrison moved westward by Richmond, Ripon, and Bolton to Warrington on the southern verge of Lancashire. He was full of confidence as to the issue of the campaign. "The Lord prepare all our hearts," he wrote to the Council of State, "for the great mercy he will shortly show us, whereof through his grace we do not in the least doubt." On the 13th of August, Harrison and Lambert met near Preston, and having been joined by about 4000 horse and foot from Staffordshire and Cheshire they hoped to prevent the royalists from crossing the Mersey. On the 16th, however, the King's army forced a passage at Warrington, with but little opposition. "We were unwilling," explains Harrison, "to engage the whole army, where our horse could not come to make service through the enclosures." Accordingly, he continued to confine himself to retarding the march of the enemy by frequent skirmishes. When he learnt that the King was moving on Worcester he sent four troops of horse to reinforce the garrison, but as he could send no foot in time, and as the corporation declared for the King, they were obliged to evacuate the town, and the King entered it on August 22. Charles intended to march on towards London, but he was obliged to halt and refresh his army, and on the 28th Cromwell's forces barred his further progress.

Harrison's brigade helped to gain the great victory of September 3, and he was specially charged with the care of the pursuit. "What fish they will catch," wrote Cromwell to the Speaker, "time will declare." When the battle was lost, Charles II. and the main body of his cavalry, which was still unbroken, escaped through the north gate. Harrison's task was to disperse and capture these cavalry, which he effected so thoroughly that not a single troop got back to Scotland. The stragglers were taken or killed by the country people, and those who could surrender to the regular forces thought themselves fortunate. A royalist prisoner gives a graphic account of the flight. "We were so closely pursued, in the day by the army and garrison forces, in the night by the country, that from the time we came out of Worcester (Wednesday) until the Friday evening that I was taken prisoner 7 miles from Preston, neither I nor my horse ever rested. Our party consisted of 3000; in the day we often faced the enemy, and beat their little parties, but still those of us whose horses were tired or were shot, were lost, unless they could run as fast as we rode. In the night we kept close together, yet some fell asleep on their horses, and if their horses tarried behind we might hear by their cries what the bloody country people were doing with them."

In a letter to Lenthall from Preston, Harrison narrated the pursuit, and like Cromwell seized the opportunity to exhort the Parliament on the use to be made of its victory. "The Lord grant that the Parliament may improve this mercy, according to the will of God, in establishing the ways of righteousness and justice, yet more relieving the oppressed, and opening a wider door to the publishing the everlasting Gospel of our only Lord and Saviour."¹

¹ Those of Harrison's letters which could be recovered are given in the Appendix of documents, with indications of their sources. An account of the skirmish at Warrington is given in *Mercurius Politicus*, Aug. 14-21, 1651, p. 1010. The capture of Worcester by Charles II. is narrated in Cary's *Memorials of the Civil War*, II. 386. The royalist narrative of the flight quoted above is in the Cal. State Papers, Dom. 1651, p. 487.

In December, 1651, Cromwell called a meeting of officers and members of parliament to consider the settlement of the nation. "That which my Lord General hath propounded," said Harrison, "is to advise as to a settlement both of our civil and spiritual liberties, so that the mercies the Lord hath given unto us may not be cast away. How this may be done is the great question."¹ On this great question, however, they could come to no agreement, nor did parliament make much progress with the problems Harrison had suggested in his letter.

Harrison's own political action during the period between September, 1651, and April, 1653, is not easy to follow. His name occurs on several committees appointed for the reform of the law, and he was a member of the committee to consider the relief of the poor, and of that to consider proposals for the better propagation of the gospel.² In July, 1650, he had shown his zeal against corruption in the case of Lord Howard of Escrick. Howard had received a bribe of £800 from a delinquent, but none could be prevailed upon to inform against so powerful a person. Harrison, however, being, says Ludlow, "a man of severe principles and zealous for justice, especially against such as betrayed the public trust reposed in them," undertook to bring the matter before parliament. "The honour of every member," he told the House, "was dear to him, and of that gentleman in particular, naming the Lord Howard, because he had so openly owned the interest of the Commonwealth as to decline his peerage and to sit upon the foot of his election by the people; yet he loved justice before all other things, looking upon it to be the honour of the parliament, and the image of God upon them; that therefore he durst not refuse to lay this matter before them, though he was very desirous that the said Lord might clear himself of the accusation." In the end Howard was expelled from parliament and fined £10,000.

¹ Whitelock, III., 373.

² Commons Journals, vii.

On March 15, 1651, somewhat similar charges were brought against Harrison and his colleagues, in a petition presented to Parliament against the Commissioners for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales. They were accused of neglecting the objects for which they had been appointed, and embezzling the revenues assigned for those purposes. Harrison himself was charged (some years later) with using all his influence to shelter his fellow-commissioners, and to crush the promoters of the petition. Parliament appointed a committee which reported on 25 March, 1653, that the petitioners had not given proof of their general charges, and that the petition was part of a Cavalier plot.¹ But parliament referred the report back to the committee, and did not renew the powers of the "Propagators" (as they were popularly termed), whose authority, having been limited to three years, ended on March 25, 1653. This action was not merely a great blow to Harrison, who had urged the continuance of the "Propagators" for at least six months, but was regarded by Cromwell and many others as a betrayal of the good cause.² In Cromwell's speech to the "Little Parliament" he made it one of the chief charges against the assembly he had just dissolved.³ "That

¹ Commons Journals, vii., 103 and 71; A. Griffiths, *A True and Perfect Relation of the whole transaction concerning the Petition of the Six Counties of South Wales.* 4to. 1654.

² A news-letter, dated April 8, 1653, amongst the Clarendon MSS. says: "Friday last the House voted down the preaching Propagators of North Wales, and ordered a moderate clergy to be put in their places; they had got into their hands £60,000 per annum of church livings, which Harrison and others of that party are loth to part with, they stickling much for them, and in conclusion desired the continuance of them but for half a year longer, which was denied them."

³ Speaking of the effects of factions and personal motives in swaying the Long Parliament, Cromwell said: "When we came to other trials as in that case of Wales, which I must confess for my own part I set myself upon—if I should relate what discountenance that business of the poor people of God then had (who had men watching over them like so many wolves, ready to catch the lambs so soon as they were brought forth into the world); how signally that business was trodden under foot to the discountenancing of the honest people, and the countenancing of the malignant party of this commonwealth." Carlyle's *Cromwell*, Speech I. It is noticeable that one of Cromwell's first acts after the expulsion of the Rump was to write to the Propagators, to bid them to continue to act, and to promise them support.

business," he said, "really to me and my officers was as plain a trial of their spirits as anything. By this and by similar instances," he added, "they were convinced that 'good was never intended to the people of God,' and that the members of the Parliament had forgotten what they owed to the men who had placed and maintained them in power. Harrison had come to the same conclusion as Cromwell. When Ludlow asked him why he had helped Cromwell to overthrow the Parliament, he answered, "because he was fully persuaded that they had not a heart to do any more good for the Lord and his people."

Two other reasons explain Harrison's share in the revolution of April, 1653. Like Cromwell, like the army in general, he had come to believe that the great aim of the members of the Long Parliament was, to keep themselves in power as long as possible. "I did see," he says, "they did intend to perpetuate themselves, without doing those desirable things which were expected and longed for by the Lord's people." Both Harrison and Cromwell agreed therefore, that a change of governors was necessary. "We did think," says Cromwell, "that the hands of other men (than these) must be the hands to be used for the work." In the same way Harrison describes himself as "apprehending that God had done his work by them, and that he had some more worthy persons to come upon the stage." The new governors, they both agreed, must be men of a different spirit, men who, as Harrison said to Ludlow, "acted upon higher principles than civil liberty," men to whom the interest of religion—"the more peculiar interest of God," as Cromwell termed it—was paramount to all other interests. In this respect Harrison's views went much further than Cromwell's. In 1649 Harrison had been in theory a Fifth Monarchy man—as his speech on the Agreement of the People shows—but he was not then convinced that the time for the establishment of the Fifth Monarchy had come. In 1653—under the influence of

Feuke and Powell—he thought that the time had come—the time spoken of by the prophet Daniel when “the Saints shall take the Kingdom and possess it.”¹ And whilst there was a certain difference between Cromwell and Harrison as to the nature of the new government, there was also a difference as to the manner in which its establishment was to be brought about. Up to the very eve of his expulsion of the Long Parliament, Cromwell was striving to restrain the army from forcibly dissolving the parliament, and endeavoring to effect a peaceable compromise with that body.² He complained to a friend “that he was pushed on by two parties to do that the consideration of the issue whereof made his hair to stand on end.” One of these parties was headed by Lambert, and the other by Harrison. “Major General Harrison,” added Cromwell, “is an honest man and aims at good things; yet from the impatience of his spirit will not wait the Lord’s leisure, but hurries me on to that which he and all honest men will have cause to repent.”³ A shrewd observer writing in March, 1653, described the army as divided into two factions, that of Cromwell and that of Harrison. Cromwell and his faction supported the existing government, but Harrison’s design was “to put the government into other hands, and to rout the present members of Parliament,” and Harrison’s faction was much the stronger.⁴

All parties in the Army objected to the “Bill for a new Representative” which Parliament was engaged in passing. After many conferences between the leaders of the army and the leaders of the parliament, a compromise was suggested, and the officers on April 19, 1653, obtained a promise that the progress of the bill should be suspended

¹ Ludlow’s *Memoirs*, ii., 563-6; for Harrison’s speech see p. 28, *ante*.

² The evidence for this view of the situation is much of it unpublished. I hope to print some of the documents on whose authority I have made this statement in the English Historical Review.

³ Ludlow’s *Memoirs*.

⁴ Daniel O’Neill’s *Brief relation of the Affairs of England*, Clarendon MSS.

to discuss the proposed expedient. Next day news was brought to the officers that the Parliament, in spite of this promise, was actually on the point of passing the bill. Mediation or compromise were no longer possible, and Cromwell, furious at this breach of faith, hurried to Westminster. Harrison was already in the House. He had been present when the sitting opened, had remonstrated against the resolution to proceed with the bill, and had "sweetly and humbly desired them to lay it aside, showing them the danger of it." Cromwell entered, sat down, and listened for some time to the debate. "Then," continues Ludlow, "calling to Major-General Harrison who was on the other side of the House to come to him, he told him 'That he judged the Parliament ripe for dissolution, and this to be the time of doing it.' The Major-General answered (as he since told me), 'Sir, the work is very great and dangerous, therefore I desire you seriously to consider of it before you engage in it.' 'You say well,' replied the General, and thereupon sat still for about a quarter of an hour; and then the question for passing the bill being to be put, he said again to Major-General Harrison, 'this is the time, I must do it,' and suddenly standing up he made a speech."

"I will put an end to your sitting," he concluded, and calling in 20 or 30 soldiers he ordered them to take away the mace, and bade Harrison to fetch the Speaker from his chair. "I went to the Speaker," says Harrison, "and told him: 'Sir, seeing things are brought to this pass it is not requisite for you to stay there,' he answered, he would not come down unless he was pulled out. 'Sir,' said I, 'I will lend you my hand'; and he putting his hand into mine, came down without any pulling."¹

¹ Harrison's intervention in the debate is mentioned in "Several Proceedings in Parliament," quoted in the old Parliamentary History, xx., 130. Ludlow's account of the dissolution was partly derived from Harrison, as he expressly states. When he wrote, Ludlow evidently had before his eyes Harrison's statement on the subject in 1660, printed in "The Speeches and Prayers of some of

No doubt Harrison spoke the truth in asserting that when he went to the House he had no knowledge of Cromwell's intention of forcibly dissolving it.¹ But it does not much lessen his responsibility for that act of violence. It is evident that he was very willing to take part in it. It is clear (in my opinion) that he had for some time advocated some such action on the part of the Army. Finally, his words and acts show that he entirely approved of it. "Afterwards," he said, "I was glad the thing was done."²

A day or two later, the officers met at Whitehall to discuss the organization of the new government. "Major General Lambert," says Ludlow, "moved that a few persons, not exceeding the number of ten or twelve, might be entrusted with the supreme power. Major General Harrison was for a greater number, inclining most to that of 70, being the number of the Jewish Sanhedrim."³ Eventually it was deter-

the late King's Judges," 4to, 1660, p. 2. Harrison there says: "The breaking of the Parliament was the act and design of General Cromwell, for I did know nothing of it; that morning before it was done, he called me to go along with him to the House, and after he had brought all into confusion, I went to the Speaker," etc. Ludlow gives Harrison's dialogue with the Speaker almost in the very words used by Harrison in "Speeches and Prayers" which I have quoted above. The Earl of Leicester's account, derived no doubt from his son Algernon Sydney, after describing the entry of the soldiers, goes on: "Then the General, pointing to the Speaker in his chair, said to Harrison, 'Fetch him down.' Harrison went to the Speaker, and spoke to him to come down, but the Speaker sat still and said nothing. 'Take him down,' said the General; then Harrison went and pulled the Speaker by the gown, and he came down." He then describes how Harrison and Col. Worsley laid hands on Algernon Sydney, and put him out (Blencowe, Sydney Papers, p. 140). Harrison, as his own account shows, was very anxious to disprove the statement that he used any physical force to the Speaker. Bordeaux the French ambassador describes Harrison as treating the Speaker with great show of respect, and leading him out by the hand "comme un gentilhomme fait une demoiselle."

¹ Harrison's statement that he accompanied Cromwell to the House is probably incorrect. It was not made till 1660, whereas the account of his taking part in the debate during the morning, and the details about his conversation with Cromwell, related by Ludlow, both point to the conclusion that he was in the House before Cromwell came there. One of the news-letters describes him as sending for Cromwell to come to the House. In that case it is easy to explain his ignorance of Cromwell's sudden resolution to dissolve the parliament.

² *Speeches and Prayers.*

³ Ludlow's *Memoirs*. Clarendon MSS., May 13, 1653.

mined to leave the executive power for the present in the hands of a council of thirteen, mostly officers, and to make over the supreme authority later to an assembly of about one hundred and forty puritan notables who were to meet in July. Public opinion, however, regarded the existing government either as a Cromwellian dictatorship, or as a military triumvirate consisting of Cromwell, Lambert and Harrison. Some asserted that Cromwell would make himself King. Others held that Lambert was more popular than Cromwell in the Army. All agreed in believing that the Anabaptists—under which term all the extremer varieties of Independents were included—were the devoted supporters of Harrison, and many thought this party the strongest. “Harrison,” said a news-letter, “hath lately written to an intimate friend, that the Lord had now at last made the General instrumental to put the power into the hands of his people (meaning the fanatic gathered churches), contrary to his intentions: that it was the Lord’s work and no thanks to his Excellency.”¹

The Anabaptists, it was believed, meant to put Harrison in Cromwell’s place. Mr. Feake, it was said, had told his congregation at Christ Church “that although the General had fought their battles with success, yet he was not the man that the Lord had chosen to sit at the helm.” Harrison himself, it is reported, encouraged these suggestions, and had declared “that the Spirit told him it was impossible to settle this government but in a monarchical way, and it was revealed to him, that there would speedily be a king again; but not one of the former race, nor such carnal

¹ News-letter, Clarendon MSS. May 6. Compare Nicholas Papers, II., 13.

Sir Edward Nicholas wrote on 17 May to Lord Wentworth: “I understand by some passengers that are lately come out of England, that Cromwell did rather join with Lambert and Harrison to preserve himself than that he did form this great alteration of the government in England, and that he hath no such absolute power in England, or in the Army, as some apprehend . . . but that his authority depends very much upon the interest of the other two commanders and their fanatic faction.” The Nicholas Papers, ed. by G. F. Warner, II., 13.

persons as some eminent in present power, but a man after God's own heart, and anointed with the Spirit" and as he made those expressions it was observed that he still stroked himself over the breast, by which his auditors implied he meant himself.¹

Whatever royalist gossips might think, it is in the highest degree improbable that Harrison cherished any such personal ambitions. His ambition was of a more unselfish, and a more impracticable kind. It was to realize on English soil the ideal commonwealth of his dreams and his desires, a society which would resemble more closely the Jewish theocracy, than the republics of the Greeks and Romans. His aim and his resolution might have been expressed in Blake's lines:—

"I will not cease from mental fight,
Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand,
Till we have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant land."

The assembly which was to effect these great things met on July 4, 1653. It consisted of about one hundred and forty puritan notables, all of them, as the writs of summons specified, "persons fearing God and of approved fidelity and honesty." Their names had been selected by the Council of Officers from a list of persons nominated by the "Churches" in the various counties. To this body Cromwell, on July 4th, made over power on behalf of the Council of State, and the speech in which he did so shows that he too shared the high expectations with which they came together. "This," said he, "may be the door to usher in the things that God has promised," and the assembly itself, in the Declaration it published on July 12th, used similar language.

One of the first acts of the assembly was to invite Cromwell, Lambert, Harrison and two other officers to sit as members with them, for officers of the regular army had been purposely excluded when the original members of that

¹ *New-letter*, May 13, 1653. Clarendon MSS.

body were selected. The result of this was that though this assembly had been called to power and was maintained in power by the Army, the Army had very little direct influence over their resolutions.

Of the three generals who were invited to join the assembly, Harrison was the only one who took much part in its proceedings. Three months at least out of the five months for which it lasted Lambert retired to the country, no doubt because he from the beginning had opposed the policy of which the assembly was the result. Cromwell confined himself almost entirely to the meetings of the Council of the State and to army affairs. In the absence of these two, Harrison and his followers, though not an actual majority, were able in the main to determine the policy of the assembly.¹ "The persons that led in that meeting," said Cromwell in 1657, "were Mr. Feake and his assemblage in Blackfriars, Major-General Harrison, and the rest that associated with him at one Mr. Squib's house. There were all the resolutions taken that were acted in the House day by day."² To the moderate party in the assembly, and also to Cromwell and many of his officers, it seemed that the reforming zeal of Harrison and his party threatened to produce general confusion. Cromwell was zealous for the reform of the English law, but thought that they would have "set up instead of order the judicial law of Moses," and would have not simply "regulated" but abrogated and subverted the law.³ Another point on which they disagreed was the question of the war with Holland. Cromwell was anxious to make peace with the Dutch on reasonable terms, because his whole scheme of foreign policy was based

¹The full strength of Harrison's party in the House seems to have been 58 votes, which was the number they mustered in the division of Dec. 10; 58 voted for Harrison's re-election as member of the Council on Nov. 7. It must have been the organization of the party rather than its number that made it formidable.

² Carlyle's Cromwell, Speech xiii.

Carlyle's Cromwell, Speech II., Speech xiii.

on the cordial alliance of the two great Protestant republics. The Fifth Monarchy men demanded that the war should be continued till the complete subjugation and submission of the Dutch, which they regarded as near at hand. "Harrison and that faction of the Anabaptists have been most against us," wrote one of the Dutch ambassadors to his masters. "Harrison and his party," said another letter from England, "do rail and preach every day against the General and the peace with Holland," and he anticipated as the result of the quarrel between Harrison's and Cromwell's parties the sudden dissolution of the parliament.¹ It was, however, the religious question, not the question of foreign policy, which led to the final breach. Cromwell and the majority of the officers of the army were in favor of an established church. A minority, to which Harrison belonged, were opposed to any interference of the magistrate in religious matters, and in favor of a purely voluntary system of church organization. In the "Little Parliament," parties appear to have been more equally balanced. Almost the first subject to be discussed in that assembly had been the question of tithes, and after five days debate the subject was referred to a committee, in spite of the opposition of Harrison and his party, who were anxious that tithes should be abolished by an immediate vote of the House. On the second of December the committee presented their report, which concluded for the continuance of tithes, though suggesting a plan for their commutation when

¹ Thurloe, State Papers, i., 519, 612. "Last Monday," writes Beverning to DeWitt on Aug. 26, 1653. "I went to the meeting at Blackfriars. . . . The scope and intention of their meeting is to trench down governments, and to stir up the people against the United Netherlands. Being then in the assembly of the saints, I heard one prayer and two sermons; but good God! What cruel, and abominable, and most horrid trumpets of fire, murther, and flame" (*Ib.*, p. 442). An intercepted letter says: "It was preached publicly—before a great congregation . . . that if they now made peace with those rogues and dogs the Dutch, after they had beaten, and beaten, and beaten the slaves, nay and almost quite conquered them, that God's vengeance would follow upon such a heathenish peace; for where should they have a landing place when they went to do the great work of the Lord, and tear the whore of Babylon out of her chair?" (*Ib.*, p. 584.)

persons had scruples against paying them. The report also contained proposals for the reorganization of the established church, but after five days discussion the first clause of it was rejected by 56 to 54 votes. This vote was regarded as portending the abolition of any established church, and the conservative party replied by bringing forward a motion that the parliament should dissolve themselves by delivering up again to Cromwell the powers which they had received from him (Dec. 12).¹

The motion was carried, the surrender of the assembly's authority effected, and a new constitution was rapidly drawn up by Lambert and the council of officers.² On December the 16th, Cromwell was installed as Protector, and the authority which had been vested in the "Little Parliament" passed to Cromwell and his Council of State. The political influence of Harrison and the Fifth Monarchy men was suddenly and completely annihilated. On the 19th of December, three days after Cromwell's installation, Feake and Powell thundered against the Protector in their meeting at Blackfriars, denounced him as the "dissemblingest perjured villain alive," identified him with the little horn mentioned in Daniel, and predicted his speedy overthrow. They were summoned before the council, but released after being a couple of days in custody (Dec. 21-23).³ At the same time, "Major-General Harrison being treated with, to know if he could own and act under this present power, and declaring he could not, had his commission taken from him."⁴

Gladly would Cromwell and his partisans have given Harrison a high place in the new government, but he re-

¹ Commons Journals, vii., 285, 296, 361, 363. Thurloe Papers, i., 308, 369, 387, 637. Reliquiae Baxterianae, p. 70.

² Thurloe, i., 632. Lambert was the chief contriver of this new revolution.

³ A report of the sermons of Feake and Powell is given in Cal. S. P., Dom., 1653-4, p. 304, cf. pp. 308, 309, and Thurloe, i., 641. Feake had been warned some weeks earlier. Thurloe, i., 591, 621.

⁴ Thurloe, i., 641.

garded them as apostates, and scorned their offers. "Some that were eminent in the work," said Harrison, at his execution, "did wickedly turn aside themselves and set up their nests on high, which caused great dishonour to the name of God and the profession they had made: And the Lord knows I could have suffered more than this, rather than have fallen in with them in that iniquity, though I was offered what I would, if I would have joined with them."¹ At his trial, he referred to these offers in similar words. "I did what I did out of conscience to the Lord. For when I found those that were as the apple of mine eye, to turn aside, I did loath them, and suffered imprisonment many years. Rather than to turn as many did that did put their hands to this plough, I chose rather to be separated from wife and family than to have compliance with them; though it was said, 'sit at my right hand,' and such kind of expressions."²

Harrison's resistance to the new power seems to have been entirely passive, but the violent sermons of his friends, and the plots of the Fifth-Monarchy men continually rendered their late leader suspected in the eyes of Cromwell's Council. On January 28, 1654, Feake and another preacher were sent prisoners to Windsor Castle. On February 3d, the Council ordered Harrison to leave London within ten days, and "to repair into Staffordshire, and there reside without removing till further order."³ A few days later, Roger Williams, just before his return to America, had a parting interview with Harrison. "Major General Harrison," he wrote to Winthrop, "was the second in the nation of late, when the loving General and himself joined against the former Long Parliament and dissolved them; but now, being the head of the fifty-six party [against priests and tithes] he was confined by the Protector and

¹ *Speeches and Prayers*, p. 8.

² *Trial of the Regicides*, p. 30.

³ *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1650-4, pp. 371, 387; cf. *Cal. Carewian Papers*, ii, 225.

Council within five miles of his father's house in Staffordshire. That sentence he not obeying, he told me the day before my leaving London, he was to be sent prisoner into Herefordshire. Surely, Sir, he is a very gallant, most deserving, heavenly man, but most highflown for the Kingdom of the Saints, and the Fifth Monarchy now risen, and their sun never to set again. etc."¹

During the spring of 1654, there were continual reports of stirrings amongst the Anabaptists in Wales, of incendiary sermons and of secret enlistments of military saints. Morgan Lloyd, a preacher who had once led a troop of volunteers in Harrison's army in Scotland, was said to be preaching against his Highness the Lord Protector, "persuading the people that there would be alterations shortly, and that his Highness (giving him all the contemptible words that can be spoken) was not the person to do the work, but that Harrison would be the man."²

On September 3, 1654, Cromwell's new parliament met, and an opposition strong in numbers and parliamentary ability proceeded to attack the Instrument of Government, and criticise the foundations of the Protector's power. On September 4th, the Fifth-Monarchy men published a manifesto against the government, entitled "A Declaration of several of the Churches of Christ and Godly People in and about the city of London; concerning the Kingly Interest of Christ, and the present sufferings of his Cause and Saints in England." Signatures to this, or to a similar petition, were to be collected, and it was intended that Harrison should present it to Parliament.³ Cromwell put a stop to the movement by expelling from Parliament all the members who declined to sign an agreement accepting the existing government, and prevented the presentation of the

¹ J. R. Bartlett's *Letters of Roger Williams*, Narragansett Club, vol. vi., 260.

² Thurloe, ii., 129; cf. pp. 44, 46, 93, 116, 128, 174.

³ Thurloe, ii., 800; Burton's *Parliamentary Diary*, i., xxxiv.; Cal. Clarendon Papers, ii., 397.

petition by arresting Harrison. He had no desire to deal harshly with his old comrade. After two or three days' restraint, Harrison was "sent for to the Court, and entertained there privately at dinner with rich wines, eight or ten good dishes of meat, and as many gentlemen to attend him. After dinner the Protector came, and professed his great affection to him, and high esteem of his great worth, which alone moved him to send for him now, that he might discharge the office of a friend by admonishing him not to persist in those deceitful and slippery ways whose end is destruction; and at the last, with much good counsel and great civility, at once dismissed and enlarged him."¹

During the winter of 1654-55 discontent continued to spread. There was considerable disaffection in the Army. The royalists were concerting a general insurrection to take place in February, 1655, and a part of the Levellers were prepared to join with them. The Fifth-Monarchy men were denouncing the Protector in their old fashion. Early in February, Harrison and some friends had an interview with Cromwell to ask the release of Feake and Rogers, both imprisoned for preaching against the government. The Protector refused their petition, but desired them to come to him at a more convenient time, and discuss the question at length, "when he should deal very plainly with them, and would be content to be so dealt with by them, and to hear what they had to say against the way that he was now in." Twice the Protector sent for them for this object, and twice they failed to come. Harrison said "that if he had been required to come he should be more free, but was not free to come upon a desire." Thereupon they were summoned by a warrant from the Protector, but still declined to appear. Cromwell's patience now gave out. "Upon this contempt," writes Thurloe, "and because of the certain information that my Lord had of their endeavour to stir up the people against the government, and to seduce

¹ Cal. Clarendon Papers, II., 397, 398. Letter of Sept. 25, 1654.

some persons from their trust which they held under the State, he sent for them in safe custody." On February 15, Harrison, Colonel Rich, Mr. John Carew and Mr. Hugh Courtney were brought before the Protector and his Council. In addition to the Councillors, there were present a number of officers and officials, and some eminent ministers and laymen, including representatives of Harrison's own party, called in at his special desire. For it was not simply a hearing or an examination of the four incriminated persons which was to take place, but a discussion in which the lay leaders of the Fifth-Monarchy men—the statesmen of the party—were to set forth at length the grounds of their opposition to the government.

Secretary Thurloe sent General Monek (who was then commanding in Scotland) a full account of the debate.¹ "That which was first asked them, was why they had in contempt of authority refused to come upon the summons which had been sent, whereunto. they plainly answered, that they could not come because in that act they should acknowledge the government; which they could not do, it being a government set up against the will of God, and in opposition to the Kingdom of Christ, and was anti-christian and Babylonish, and they did expect that God would pour out his wrath upon it, and those that did adhere to it; and they did not come lest some of the drops of wrath should fall upon them, and therein they obeyed the Scripture, which calls to the daughter of Sion to come out of Babylon. Mr. Carew added that My Lord Protector when the Little Parliament was dissolved, took the crown off from the head of Christ, and put it upon his own."

"It would be too large to tell all particulars. Some of the principles they laid down are these: that the present authority is not any authority, nor to be obeyed, and consequently arms may be taken up against it: that the Magistrate

¹ What follows is from an unpublished letter to Monek amongst the MSS. of his Secretary, William Clarke.

which is carnal hath no right, nor can have: and the great objection which they made against this government was because it had a parliament in it, whereby power is derived from the people, whereas all power belongs to Christ. And it being demanded of them, whether they would engage to live peaceable, and not disturb the peace of the nation, they refused to do it. And it being pressed upon them to do it, because of the protection they had, they denied they received any protection from the present government, and that they owed their protection only to God, and that they should expect the same quiet and protection from God, if the whole army were disbanded tomorrow. . . . The council did offer to them, that if they would retire into their own counties, and promise not to come forth without leave, it would be all that would be expected, viz.: Major-General Harrison into Staffordshire, John Carew and Courtney into Cornwall, and Rich into Kent; but they utterly refused it. And thereupon they are ordered to stand committed, which I assure you is done of pity to them and some other people who are led by them, as well as for the sake of the nation, that they may not put things into blood and confusion, and be made use of by the Cavaliers and vile Levelling party to destroy and utterly root out all that are good and godly in the land. Before they were committed his Highness told them, that they were not only committed for the contempt, but because they had acted against the government and the peace of the nation, and particularly told every one of them what he had against them." Carew had endeavoured to seduce "some great officers" to betray their trust, Rich had incited opposition to the raising of taxes, and Courtney had urged armed rebellion. Against Harrison the charge was, "that he had not only countenanced those who declaimed publicly against the government, but had persuaded some of the lawfulness of taking up arms against it."

Monek briefly answered Thurloe's narrative by saying

"that unless his Highness be very severe with those that are disturbers to the peace we shall never have any certain settlement." The Protector's council held the same opinion, and henceforth Harrison was treated accordingly. A few days later he was sent prisoner to Portland, whence in April, 1655, he was removed to Carisbrook Castle. At Carisbrook Harrison had Courtney as his fellow captive, and after December, 1655, John Rogers, one of the chief preachers of the Fifth Monarchy men, also shared his captivity.

In one of his many pamphlets Rogers gives some account of his "dear con-captive's for the most noble and excellent cause of the King of Saints." Together they praised the "sweet Providence" which had brought them into one gaol as well as one exile, "for one and the same Master, and one and the same Cause, Testimony and Truth." But the gaoler was an oppressive and violent man "who indeed played the beast with us." Rogers preached in his room, and out of his window, and wherever he could find opportunity, but his gaoler drove away with blows the people who flocked to hear him, and set on the soldiers to assault Rogers himself. Fortunately the Major-General had with him "a precious ointment and salve," with which he cured Rogers's bruises. Sometimes the gaoler's anxiety to prevent the prisoners from communicating with the outside world, led to a sudden stoppage of their supplies. Once they would have been half starved, had not a neighboring Knight, touched by pity, sent Harrison a little lamb. Throughout their imprisonment together Rogers never ceased to exhort his companions, and to denounce "the Serpent," "the Beast," "the seed of the Dragon," "the Bastard of Ashdod," who had established his dominion in England. "Hold out and die like Christ's men," admit no capitulation, make no terms with them. "March up O ye men of courage against this apostate and most perfidious enemy." . . . "King Jesus his Mount Sion muster-day is at hand." . . .

"His magazines and artillery, yea his most excellent mortarpieces and batteries be ready. We wait only for the word from on High to fall on. . . . and then by the grace of God the proudest of them shall know we are engaged on life and death, to stand or fall, with the Lord Jesus our Captain-General upon his Red Horse against the Beast's government."

These prophetic visions and martial exhortations had a great effect on Harrison, and when an order came for his release he was quite reluctant to leave his prison. On the 20th of March, 1656, two officers arrived at Carisbrook with orders to remove Harrison to London "to Highgate, to his own house, a prisoner." The reason assigned was "the very desperate danger of death his father (in-law), the Colonel, was in, as also his dear yoke fellow so near the time of her travail." Harrison was "in great fears of the serpent's snares in this order," and afraid also "lest his further liberty, company, and outward comforts should be any entanglement unto him, or let to his inward joys and prison experiences." He begged Rogers and Courtney for their advice and they confirmed his fears. When the officers came to see him again, Harrison "dealt very roundly and plainly with them," and told them "that he could not thank them for their pretended love, nor did he think his father or wife would be worse by his continuance in this prison, but rather the better . . . and for a gaol he would rather have this than any for the cruelty thereof . . . nor would he make his house a prison." In the end he said that "he would not declare his readiness to go with them, but if they would carry him away he could not help it." They answered that they "did desire to serve him with all civility and respect, and were loth to use any violence, but could not go without him, and they were now to take custody of him; and so desired him to prepare himself the next day and to give directions which way he would go." Harrison told them "that he would have nothing to do with it, but

he was a sufferer; nor would he direct, nor bear any of the charges, for he was a prisoner."

The next morning Bull, the gaoler, delivered Harrison up to the two officers. "We had much discourse," says Rogers, "and the Lord gave him a very noble spirit, though broken in himself, to deal plainly with Bull and them, expressing his unwillingness to leave us behind, or rather his desire to partake and tarry with us still in so sore bonds. But when we saw he must be gone, we parted with no little heaviness. . . . We got upon a wall and looked after them till they came near to Newport, and then my dear fellow prisoner, Mr. Courtney, and I kept the rest of the day in prayer, easing our hearts and emptying our tears into the bosom of heaven, being a little troubled for our loss of so precious a help, so choice a companion as he was to us."¹

For the next year Harrison lived at Highgate under surveillance, though not under actual restraint. His father-in-law, Col. Ralph Harrison, died a few weeks later, and was buried on May 16th.² Of the infant whose birth had been expected nothing more is heard.

As soon as it was known that Harrison was at liberty his political friends flocked to see him, nor did the government make any attempt to hinder it. "He spares not," wrote Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, "to speak his mind freely to them who come to visit him, which I do not hear are many." The Secretary added that he thought the Fifth-Monarchy men were declining in credit and numbers,

¹ Rogers, *Life and Opinions of John Rogers, a Fifth Monarchy man*, 1867, pp. 256-297 (extracts from Rogers's pamphlet, *Jegar Sahndutha*). Cf. *Mercurius Politicus*, March 31—April 7, 1656; Cal. S. P., Dom, 1655-6, pp. 190, 202, 216, 588.

² Obituary of Richard Smyth, p. 42. Ralph Harrison's first wife Martha (the mother of Catherine Harrison) was buried at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, Sept. 3, 1653. *Notes and Queries*, sixth series, ii., 388. By his nuncupative will (registered in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 271 Berkley), he left his second wife, Hester, £200 a year for life, and the use of his dwelling house at Highgate. He made Thomas Harrison, his son-in-law, sole executor, by whom the will was proved on July 18, 1656.

though still as bitter as ever against the government, and as resolved "to try for it with the sword," if they could get a chance.¹ One of Garrison's visitors was Ludlow, eager to learn from Garrison why he had helped Cromwell to expel the Long Parliament, and in what manner the expulsion had been effected. Garrison gave the reasons which have been already stated. "Are you not," said Ludlow, "now convinced of your error, in entertaining such thoughts, especially since it has been seen what use has been made of the usurped power?" To this home question Garrison replied, "Upon their heads be the guilt, who have made a wrong use of it; for my own part my heart was upright and sincere in the thing." Ludlow retorted that it was not sufficient in matters of great importance to mankind, to have only good intentions and designs, unless there were also a reasonable probability of obtaining those ends by the methods pursued; and urged that Garrison ought to have foreseen that when the civil authority was overthrown, power would naturally devolve upon the head of the army.

The conversation then turned on the Fifth Monarchy and the right of the Saints to rule. Garrison said that one of his reasons for joining with Cromwell was "because he pretended to own and favour a sort of men, who acted upon higher principles than those of civil liberty." Ludlow replied by reminding him "that the generality of the people that had engaged with us, having acted upon no higher principles than those of civil liberty, and that they might be governed by their own consent, it could not be just to treat them in another manner upon any pretence whatsoever." Here indeed was the fundamental difference between Garrison and Ludlow, between Fifth Monarchy men and Republicans. One party desired to establish a theocracy,² the other a democracy. Garrison went on to

¹ Thurloe, iv., 698.

² Rogers expressly uses this word "theocracy." *Life of John Rogers*, p. 228.

cite passages from the Prophet Daniel. "The Saints shall take the Kingdom and possess it." "The Kingdom shall not be left to another people." "I answered," writes Ludlow, "that the same Prophet says in another place that 'the Kingdom shall be given to the people of the Saints of the most High.' And that I conceived, if they should presume to take it before it was given they could at the best be guilty of doing evil that good might come of it.

"For to deprive those of their right in the government, who had contended for it equally with ourselves, were to do as we would not that others should do to us. That such proceedings are not only unjust, but also impracticable, at least for the present; because we cannot perceive that the Saints are clothed with such a spirit as those are required to be to whom the Kingdom is promised; and therefore we may easily be deceived in judging who are fit for government, for many have taken upon them the form of saintship, that they might be admitted to it, who yet have not acted suitably to their pretensions in the sight of God or men; for proof of which we need go no further than to those very persons who had drawn him in to assist them in their design of exalting themselves, under the specious pretence of exalting the Kingdom of Christ. He confessed himself," concludes Ludlow, "not able to answer the arguments I had used; yet said he was not convinced that the texts of Scripture quoted by him were not to be interpreted in the sense he had taken them."¹

In April, 1657, a plot was discovered, headed by one Venner, for a rising of Fifth Monarchy men, which was to have taken place on April 9. Harrison was arrested, but rather as a precaution than because he had actually had a hand in the conspiracy. One of the papers of the conspirators contained a statement that "the ancient wise christians," including Harrison and Carew, were opposed to

¹ Ludlow's *Memoirs*, ed. 1698, ii., 563-6. *Mercurius Politicus*, April 9-16, 1657, p. 7720; Cf. pp. 7736, 7742, 7753.

the rising, but also proved that Harrison had been sound-ed and invited to take part.¹ This time Harrison was not under restraint for more than a few weeks, but on Feb. 3, 1658, he was again arrested, and sent to the Tower. A petition which the Protector regarded as dangerous was being circulated amongst the Republicans and Fifth Mon-archy men in London, and Harrison was held to be one of its instigators. This imprisonment was also brief. During 1659, Harrison took no part in public affairs. There were occasional rumors of Anabaptist risings to be headed by him, but they were nothing but rumors.² The Long Parliament, restored in May, 1659, was highly incensed against him for his share in its expulsion, and whilst others who had suffered under Cromwell were restored to their commands, it was much that he was unmolested. On Sept. 30th, they passed a vote discharging him from being a member of the House, and declaring him forever incap-able of sitting in Parliament. When the wheel turned, and the army again expelled the Parliament (Oct. 13, 1659), the subaltern officers wished to restore Harrison to his commission, but Lambert and his party prevented it.³

As the Restoration drew near, Harrison's friends urged him to fly, but in vain. "If I had been minded to run away," he said subsequently, "I might have had many opportunities, but being so clear in the thing, I durst not turn my back nor step a foot out of the way, by reason I had been engaged in the service of so glorious and so great a God."⁴

¹ Thurloe, vi., 164, 185. A reason for this reluctance is suggested, viz.: that the reign of the Beast was to last 42 months, and this time, dating from Dec., 1658, was not up till June, 1657. Revelation, xiii., 5; Thurloe, vi., 249. Cf. Life of John Rogers, p. 285.

² Thurloe, vi., 775, 778, 790; Burton's Diary, iii., 449; *Mercurius Politicus*, Feb., 1657-8. ³ Guizot, Richard Cromwell, ii., 275.

⁴ Speeches and Prayers, p. 9; *Mercurius Cicerus*, April 17-24, 1660; *Mercurius Publicus*, April 26—May 3. Ludlow, who followed a different course himself, thus comments on Harrison's resolution: "I shall not take upon me to censure the conduct of the Major-General, not knowing what extraordinary impulse one of his virtue, piety, and courage, may have had upon his mind in that conjuncture."

On April 21st, 1660, he and others were ordered by proclamation to surrender themselves to the Council of State. Harrison paid no attention to the order, and refused to give even a verbal engagement not to act against the government. At the end of the month he was arrested at his own house in Staffordshire by Col. Bowyer and a party of militia, and sent up to London, where he was committed to the Tower. On June 5th, the House of Commons excepted Harrison and six other chief offenders from the Act of Indemnity. "Col. Harrison," wrote a royalist, "scorns to ask pardon; he saith the Protector kept him in prison a great while, and now the King is come he will take away his life, and ease him of that trouble."¹

On the 9th of October, 1660, the tribunal for the trial of the Regicides opened its proceedings, and the grand jury found a true bill against the persons accused. On Wednesday the 10th, Harrison and twenty-seven of his fellow prisoners were conducted from the Tower to Newgate, and thence to the Sessions-House in the Old Bailey. "All the way as they came to Newgate," writes a royalist, "you could hear nothing for deriding shouts, nor hardly see them for the crowd of the multitude." Some of the prisoners, he observed, shrunk before this storm of popular obloquy, their "sense of their own guilt made their countenance to change and their hearts to fail them; but Col. Harrison was unmoved, and carried himself rather like one whose conscience was seared with the guilt of blood."²

After some wrangling with the court, Harrison consented to plead "not guilty" in the usual form. On the following day he was brought to the bar, and tried separately. The Solicitor-General recited the history of the King's execution, saying "if any person now alive ought to be styled the conductor, leader, and captain of all this

¹ Fifth Report of Historical MSS. Comm., p. 297.

² The manner of the arraignment of those 28 persons who were appointed to be tried, 10th Oct., 1660. 4to, pp. 4, 5.

work, that's the man." Witnesses deposed to Harrison's presence amongst the King's judges, and the death-warrant with his signature attached to it was produced. Harrison owned his signature, and boldly justified his action.

"My Lords," he said, "the matter that hath been offered to you, was not a thing done in a corner. I believe the sound of it hath been in most nations. I believe the hearts of some have felt the terrors of that presence of God that was with his servants in those days, howsoever it seemeth good to Him to suffer this turn to come on us. . . . I have desired as in the sight of Him that searcheth all hearts, whilst this hath been done, to wait and receive from Him convictions upon my own conscience; and though I have sought it with tears many a time, and prayers over and over, to that God to whom you and all nations are less than a drop of water of the bucket—to this moment I have received rather assurance of it; and that [in] the things that have been done, I do believe ere long it will be made known from Heaven there was more of God than men are aware of."

He then protested that he had neither acted from malice nor self-seeking. "I would not offer of myself the least injury to the poorest man or woman that goes upon the earth. . . . I followed not my own judgment. I did what I did as out of conscience to the Lord. . . . May be I might be a little mistaken; but I did it all according to the best of my understanding; desiring to make the revealed will of God in His Holy Scriptures as a guide unto me." As a testimony to the integrity of his motives he instanced his refusal to accept the Protector's offers, and his sufferings for opposing him.

In conclusion he pleaded that he had acted by the authority of the Parliament of England, and that this court had no jurisdiction over their actions. "And whereas," he added, "it hath been said we did assume and usurp an

authority; I say this was done rather in the fear of the Lord."

"Away with him," broke in Chief-Baron Bridgeman. "Know where you are sir. You are in an assembly of Christians. Will you make God the author of your treasons and murthers? . . . You have not gone about to extenuate your crimes so much as to justify them." . . . Harrison's plea was unanimously overruled, for he was told it was not the Parliament, but simply a portion of one house of Parliament, by whose authority he had acted.

After this Harrison was beginning to argue that the Kings of England were accountable to the Parliament, when he was again interrupted. "Methinks," said one judge, "he should be sent to Bedlam till he comes to the gallows to give an account of this. This must not be suffered." "This man," added one of the counsel for the Crown, "hath the plague all over him; it is a pity any should stand near him, for he will infect them." "Mr. Harrison," concluded the Lord Chief-Baron, "we are ready to hear you again, but to hear such stuff, it cannot be suffered. You have spoken that which is as high a degree of blasphemy, next to that against God, as I have heard. . . . To extenuate your crimes you may go on, but you must not go on as before."

Harrison then simply confined himself to denying the charge that he had sought to "blacken" the King's character (as one of the witnesses had alleged); and then, after briefly pleading once more that he had acted by the authority of parliament, closed his defence. The Chief-Baron gave a short charge, and "without stirring a foot from the bar," the jury found a verdict of "guilty," and sentence was pronounced.¹

The next day but one, namely Saturday, October the 13th, the judgment of the Court was carried out. Where Charing Cross had once stood a small space was railed off, within which a gibbet was erected. Thither between 9 and

¹ Trial of the Regicides; *Mercurius Publicus*, Oct. 11-18, 1600.

10 in the morning Harrison was brought from Newgate-gaol, being "drawn" (as his sentence required) on "a sledge" or "burdle" (as it is sometimes termed).¹ The narrative which his friends published minutely describes his behavior both at Newgate and at the place of execution. "His countenance never changed in all the way he went to the place of execution, but was mighty cheerful, to the astonishment of many. He called several times in the way, and spoke aloud 'I go to suffer upon the account of the most glorious cause that ever was in the world.' One in derision called to him and said: "Where is your Good old Cause?" He with a cheerful smile clapped his hand on his breast and said: "Here it is, and I am going to seal it with my blood." When he arrived at the gallows he mounted the ladder and proceeded, as the custom was, to address the people. Some of the bystanders observing his hands and knees to tremble began to scoff. "Gentlemen," said Harrison, "by reason of some scoffing that I do hear, I judge that some do think I am afraid to die. . . . I tell you no, but it is by reason of much blood I have lost in the wars, and many wounds I have received in my body which caused this shaking and weakness in my nerves. I have had it this twelve years. I speak this to the praise and glory of God; he hath carried me above the fear of death." "Take notice," he continued, "that for being instrumental in that Cause and interest of the Son of God which hath been pleaded amongst us, and which God hath witnessed to by appeals and wonderful victories, I am brought to this place to suffer death this day, and if I had ten thousand lives I could freely and cheerfully lay them down all to witness to this matter."

Finally, after some more words on the excellence of his cause, he turned to comfort his friends. "I have one word more to the Lord's people, that desire to serve Him with an

¹ The frontispiece of "Rebels no Saints," gives a picture of the sledge.

upright heart. Let them not think hardly of any of the good ways of God for all this; for I have been near this seven years a suffering person, and have found the way of God to be a perfect way. . . . And though we may suffer hard things, yet He hath a gracious end, and will make for His own glory, and the good end of his people. Be not discouraged by reason of the cloud that is now upon you, for the sun will shine, and God will give a testimony unto what He hath been doing in a short time."¹ Then after a few sentences of prayer "he was not so much thrown off the ladder by the executioner, but went as readily off himself." After hanging for some minutes his body was cut down and quartered. The executioner held up his head and heart to show them to the people, "at which," says Pepys, "there was great shouts of joy." A portion of his body was burnt, but his four quarters were conveyed away to be set upon the gates of the City. On Tuesday next when John Cooke was drawn to execution, Harrison's head was placed in front of him on the sledge "with the face bare towards him." It was then set "on a pole on the top of the southeast end of Westminster Hall, looking towards London."

According to local tradition Harrison's head and quarters were finally delivered to his friends, who interred them in St. Giles's Churchyard, Newcastle-under-Lyme. "A gravestone was placed over them with an inscription to the effect that 'the remains of Thomas Harrison, a Major-General of the Commonwealth, were interred here.'"² This gravestone however has since been removed.

It remains only to complete the history of Harrison's family. The condemned regicides were allowed before their execution to take leave of their wives and children.³ Har-

¹ *Speeches and Prayers; Trial of the Regicides. Rebels No Saints.* Pepys' Diary, Oct. 13, 1680.

² For this information my thanks are due to Mr. Robert Featon.

³ *Passage and Occasional Speeches*, p. 4.

rison, we are told, "parted with his wife and friends with great joy and cheerfulness, as he did use to do when going some journey or about some service for the Lord. He told his wife he had nothing to leave her but his Bible; but that he was assured that God would make up all her losses in due time, and he desired that those that did love him would manifest their love in being loving and tender to his dear wife." There is no mention, it will be observed, of any child of Harrison's in this narrative; no injunction to his friends on the part of Harrison "to be loving and tender" to his children. Three children indeed had been born to Thomas and Katherine Harrison, but all had died in their infancy. In the burial register of St. Anne's, Blackfriars, the following entries occur:

164⁸. Feb. 1. Thomas, son of Col. Thomas Harrison, and Katherine his wife.

1652, April 10. Ralph, son of Major-General Thomas Harrison.

165⁸. Jan. 12. Richard, son of Major-General Thomas and Katherine Harrison.¹

Putting together the positive evidence afforded by these three entries, and the negative evidence of Harrison's farewell words, it becomes clear that no children of Harrison's marriage were alive in 1660. If any such children had survived they would probably have been mentioned in the wills of the Harrison family. Ralph Harrison's will, proved in 1656, makes no mention of any children of his daughter and Thomas Harrison. The will of Hester, the widow of Ralph Harrison, proved in 1666, is equally silent. True, she was but the second wife of Ralph Harrison, and the stepmother of Katherine Harrison, but on the other hand, though her will was disputed, no children of Thomas and Katherine Harrison put forward any claim to their grandfather's prop-

¹ These entries are given by Col. Chester, *Notes and Queries*, Sixth Series, ii., 388; Nov. 13, 1880. The first two are also printed in Malcolm's *Londinium*, ii., 370.

erty. In the third place, Katherine, the widow of Major-General Harrison, married a second husband, Thomas Legh, son of Henry Legh of High Leigh, Cheshire, and died in 1700, leaving no children by this second marriage. On May 7, 1700, letters of administration were granted to Thomas Legh for the estate of his late wife Katherine, and on the same day he also obtained similar authority to succeed her in the administration of what remained of Ralph Harrison's estate. Here again there is not a hint that there were in existence any grandchildren of Ralph Harrison by his daughter's first marriage.¹ Thus the absence of any mention of Harrison's children in these wills strengthens the conclusion drawn from Harrison's own silence, and from the deaths recorded in the Blackfriars register. The combination of three such pieces of evidence amounts to an almost irresistible proof that Major-General Harrison left no children. It makes it necessary to reject remorselessly any traditional claims to be descended from him, to demand from the claimants documentary proof of their claims, and to scrutinize very closely any proofs put forward.

The tradition which represents Harrison as the progenitor of two presidents of the United States, is a tradition one is loth to set aside. It satisfies so admirably the requirements of poetical justice and historic fitness, that one regrets to find it simply a modern tradition.²

¹ Col. Chester's note given some of these wills. The will of Hester Harrison (registered in P. C. C., 117, Mico) has been looked up for me by Mr. Gordon Goodwin, to whom I am also indebted for extracts from the other wills mentioned, and for verifying the entries in the St. Anne's register.

² I perceive that Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography agrees with me in rejecting the tradition as baseless. The story is stated thus in Inderwick's "Side Lights on the Stuarts," p. 289. After describing Harrison's death the author goes on to say: "Of his descendants one son was in Vienna at the Restoration, and thus possibly escaped his father's fate. Another son emigrated to Virginia where he became a man of note . . . and was a direct ancestor of Benjamin Harrison of Surrey, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. From him was descended William Henry Harrison, eighth President of the United States . . . and General Harrison who is now (Oct.,

Another story is that Anne Harrison, the granddaughter of the regicide, married in 1704, Thomas Willing of Bristol, ancestor of the family of Willing of Philadelphia.¹ But no proof of the supposed relationship of this Anne Harrison to the regicide, seems to be advanced, and this tradition therefore must be set aside like the other one.

There is nothing strange in this desire to claim Harrison as an ancestor. A similar desire is shown in the case of many other regicides. Quite a number of persons in England claim descent from Edmund Ludlow—although he died without issue.

Ludlow, at all events, was a man of old family. But what is there in Harrison's career, more than in the lives of his comrades, which attracts interest and admiration, and makes people desire to claim kinship with the butcher's son of Newcastle? In his own time and amongst his own party there were many soldiers as brave—many leaders much wiser. The "Fifth Monarchy" for which he struggled and suffered was an impracticable dream—a lost cause which no later generation was to take up again and bear to victory. Is it not because Harrison in his fierce enthusiasm, represents for us more fully than others the soldiers of a religious revolution—because in his fightings and his sufferings it was more plainly evident that he contended for no personal ends, but for the vision of a perfect commonwealth?

1888) the selected candidate of the Republican party," etc. "His daughters remained in England and made good marriages, amongst their descendants being found members of the aristocratic families of Stirling and Ashburton."

¹ See *Notes and Queries*, First Series, ix., 350; Fifth Series, viii., 207. In "Truth" for March 30, 1893, appeared a communication from Mrs. W. Boyd Garrison of Brandon, denying the statement that President Garrison is descended from the regicide, but asserting that the Brandon branch of the Garrison family are so descended, through the Willing family. I also observe in the Fifth Series of *Notes and Queries*, i., 47, an inquiry from Captain A. M. Garrison of Plymouth, Mass., asking for information concerning Thomas Garrison, and intimating that he had "a legitimate right" to do so. I understand that he claimed descent from a brother of Thomas Garrison's father.

APPENDIX.

1. Joint letter from Harrison and three other officers to Col. Hammond, Nov. 17, 1648.
2. Joint letter from Cromwell and Ireton to Harrison, Dec. 22, 1648.
3. Commission to Col. Thomas Harrison, 21 Aug., 1649.
4. Harrison to Cromwell, July 3, 1650.
5. Cromwell to Harrison, May 3, 1651.
6. A letter from Major-Gen. Harrison's headquarters, 5 June, 1651. [Probably from Harrison himself.]
7. Harrison to Cromwell, Aug. 2, 1651.
8. Harrison to the Yorkshire Committee, Aug. 6, 1651.
9. Harrison to the Council of State, Aug. 7, 1651.
10. Harrison to the Speaker, Aug. 11, 1651.
11. Harrison to Cromwell, Aug. 15, 1651.
12. Harrison to Cromwell, Aug. 16, 1651.
13. Harrison to the Speaker, Aug. 17, 1651.
14. Harrison to the Speaker, Aug. 18, 1651.
15. Harrison to the Speaker, Sept. 7, 1651.

Titles of Pamphlets relating to Harrison.

NOTE:

Numbers 2, 3 are from the Clarke MSS.

Numbers 8, 9, 15 are amongst the Tanner MSS.

Numbers 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 were printed at the time, and are reprinted in the Old Parliamentary History, vols. XIX., XX. My copies are taken from these reprints.

I.

COMMISSARY GENERAL IRETON, MAJOR HARRISON, COL. DINBROWE, AND
COL. GROSVENOR, TO COL. HAMMOND.

Sweet Robin :

Our relation is so nigh unto the best account, that nothing can concern you or us, but we believe they are of a mutual concernment. And therefore we hold ourselves much obliged to transmit you this inclosed,

coming from a sure hand to us; not only as relating to yours, or our particular, but likewise as a matter of vast importance to the public.

It hath pleased God (and we are persuaded in much mercy) even miraculously to dispose the hearts of your friends in the Army, as one man (together with the concurrence of the godly from all parts) to Interpose in this treaty (*t*), yet in such wise, both for matter and manner, as, we believe, will not only refresh the bowels of the Saints, and all other faithful people of this kingdom; but be of satisfaction to every honest member of Parliament, when tendered to them, and made public; which will be within a very few days. And considering of what consequence the escape of the King from you (in the interim) may prove, we haste this dispatch to you, together with our most earnest request, that, as you tender the interest of this nation, of God's people, or of any moral men, or as you tender the ending of England's troubles, or desire, that justice and righteousness may take place, you would see to the securing of that person from escape, whether by returning of him to the Castle, or such other way, as in thy wisdom and honesty shall seem meetest.

We are confident you will receive in a few days a duplicate of this desire, and an assurance from the General and Army, to stand by you in it. And in the mean time, for our parts (though it may not be very considerable to you) we do hereby ingage to own you with our lives and fortunes therein; which we should not so forwardly express, but that we are impelled to the premises in duty and conscience to God and man.

THE Lord, your's and our God, be your wisdom and courage in this and all things. However we have done our duty, and witnessed the affection of,

Dear HAMMOND,

Windsor, 17th 9ber,

1648.

Your most entire and faithful brethren,
friends and servants,

(Signed)	H. IRETON, T. HARRISON, JOHN DISBROWE, E. GROSVENOR.
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To our Honourable Friend, COL. ROBERT HAMMOND, these.

[Birch, Letters to Col. Robert Hammond, 1704, p. 87.]

II.

LETTER TO COL. HARRISON.

Sir:

Col. Thomlinson is to bee speeded away to Windsor with instructions to himself Lt. Col. Cobbett and Captain Merriman for securing of the

(*t*) Between the King and Commissioners of the Parliament.

Kinge answerable to the severall Heads you desire resolution in. Soe soone as hee comes you may come away and your presence heere is both desired and needed. Butt before you come awny, wee desire you to appoint 3 or 4 troopes out of your convoy (of the surest men and best Officer'd) to remaine about Windsor, to whom you may assigne quarters in the next parts of Middlesex and Surrey (advising with the Governor therein) and to keepe guard by a troope att a time within the Castle, and for that purpose to receive orders from Col. Thomlinson; and wee desire you alsoe out of the chelv of the Kinges servants last allowed (uppon advice with Lt. Col. Cobbett and Capt. Merriman) to appoint about the number of 6 (such as are most to be confidid in, and who may best supply all Offices) to stay with and attend the Kinge for such necessary uses, and the rest wee desire yon to send away, nott as discharged from the benefitt of their places, butt only as spar'd from extraordinary attendance. This is thought fit to avoide any numerous concourse, which many servants with their followers, and their relations or acquaintance would draw into the Castle; and for the said reason itt is wish't that such of the servants retain'd as are least sure, and nott of necessity to lie constantly in the Kinges lodgings, may bee lodged in the Towne, or the lower parte of the Castle, wherein the Governor is to bee advised with.

Capt. Mildmay (wee presume) will bee one of those you'll finde to retaine, the Dragoones of your convoy send away to the quarters formerly intended which (as wee remember) were in Bedfordsshire. Wee bless God by whose providence you are come on soe well with your charge. Wee remaine

Your true friends to serve you,

Westminster

Dec^r. 22, 1648.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

HENRY IRETON.

To Col. Harrison at
Windsor, or by the way to
Farnham thitherward.

Hast.

&c.

III.

COMMISSION TO HARRISON Aug. 1649.

Thomas Lord Fairfax, Lord Generall of all the Parliament forces in England and the Dominion of Wales, and the Islands of Guernsey and Jersey.

To Colonell Thomas Harrison.

By the power & authority to mee given by the Parliament I do heerby appoint you Commander in Chelv of all forces in the Countys of Monmouth, Glamorgan, Brecknock, Radnor, Cardigan, Caermarthen, Hereford, and the parts of Gloucestershire on the southmost side of Severne, for the suppressing of all tumults and insurrections within

the said Counties, and preservation of the peace thereof. And to give your best assistance to the Adjacent Counties. And you are likewise to observe and follow such further Orders and Directions as you shall receive from myself according to the Discipline of Warre. Given under my hand and Seale the 21th of August 1649.

IV.

July 3, 1650.

COLONEL HARRISON TO THE LORD GENERAL CROMWELL.

My Deare Lord,

To spare your trouble, I forbeare to give yow my excuse for not waiting on yow to Ware; I know yow love mee, therefore are not apt to except, though in this particular I had not failed, but that orders from the Councell superseeded me.

Considering under how many and greate burdens yow labour, I am afraid to saie anle more, that I may not add to them; but love and dutie makes mee presume.

The buisines yow goe upon is weightle, as ever yet yow undertooke; the issue plainly and deeply concerneſ the life or death of the Lord's people, his owne name and his Son's: Nevertheless maie yow rejoice in God (whose affaire itt is) who, having heretofore given yow numberleſſe ſignal testimonies to other parts of the worke, will in mercie proſper this, that hee maie perfect what hee hath begun; and to omitte other arguments, that in Deut. XXXII. 27. hath much force on my hearte, especially the laſt words: *And the Lord hath not don all this.*

I believe if the preſent enemy ſhould prevaile, hee would as certainly reproach God, and all that hitherto hath beeene done as aforesaid, even as I now write; but the jealousy of the Lord of Hosts for his greate name, will not admitt it.

My Lord, bee carefull for nothing, but prale with thanksgiving (to witt in faith) Phil. iv. 6. 7. I doubt not your ſuccesse, but I thinkne faith and praire muſt be the chief engines, as heretofore the ancient worthiles, through faith, subdued kugdones, out of weakeſſe were made ſtrong, waxed valiant in feight, and turned to flight the armies of the aliens.

Oh that a ſpiritt of faith and ſupplication maie be poured forth on yow and your armie! There is more to bee had in this poore ſimple wale, then even moſt ſaints expect.

My Lord, let waiting upon Jehovah bee the greatest and moſt conſiderable buisnes you have every daie; reckon it ſoe, more then to eate, ſleep, or conneſſ together. Run aside ſometimes from your compaie, and gett a word with the Lord. Why ſhould not yow have three or four pretious ſoules alwaies ſtanding at your elbow, with whom you might now and then turne into a corner? I have found refreshment and mercie in ſuch a wale.

Ah! the Lord of compassion owne, pittie your burdens, care for yow, stand by and refresh your heart each moment. I would I could in anie kind doe yow good, my hearte is with yow, and my poore praiers to my God for yow. The Allmighty Father carrie yow in his very bossome, and deliver yow (if itt be his will) from touching a very hair of anie for whom Jesus hath bledd. I expect a very gracious retorne in this particular.

But I am sorry to bee thus tedious: Pardon me. Here is little news; only Charles Vane returned from Portugall, who left our Fleet indifferently well, and that they had seised nine of the Portugall's shippes. The Father of mercies visitt, and keepe your soule close to him continually, protect, preserve, and prosper yow, is the praler of, my Lord,

Your Excellencies loving servant, whilst I breathe,

T. HARRISON.

Whitehall, 3d July, 1650.

*For His Excellency the Lord General CROMWELL, humbly present.
These.*

[The Milton State Papers (original letters and papers of State addressed to Oliver Cromwell) Ed. by John Nickolls, Jun., fol., 1743, p. 10.]

V.

CROMWELL TO MAJOR GEN. HARRISON.

For the Honourable Major-General Harrison: *These.*

Edinburgh, May 3d,
1651.

Dear Harrison,

I received thine of the 23d of April. Thy Letters are always very welcome to me.

Although your new militia forces are so bad as you mention, yet I am glad that you are in the head of them; because I believe God will give you a heart to reform them; a principal means whereof will be, by placing good Officers over them, and putting out the bad; whereunto you will not want my best furtherance and concurrence. I have had much such stuff to deal withal, in those sent to me into Scotland; but, blessed be the Lord, we have 'been' and are reforming them daily, finding much encouragement from the Lord therein; only we do yet want some honest men to come to us to make Officers. And this is the grief, that this being the cause of God and of His people, so many saints should be in their security and ease, and not come out to the work of the Lord in this great day of the Lord.

I hear nothing of the men you promised me. Truly I think you should do well to write to friends in London and elsewhere, to quicken their sense in this great business. I have written this week to Sir

Henry Vane, and given him a full account of your affairs. I hope it will not be in vain.

I think it will be much better for you to draw nigher to Carlisle, where 'are' twelve troops of horse; whereof six are old troops, and five or six of dragoons. Besides, the troops you mention upon the Borders will be ready upon a day's notice to fall into conjunction with you; so that if any parties should think to break into England (which, through the mercy of God, we hope to have an eye to), you will be, upon that conjunction, in a good posture to obviate 'them.' Truly I think that if you could be at Penrith and those parts, it would do very well. And I do therefore desire you, as soon as you can, to march thither. Whereby also you and we shall have the more frequent and constant correspondency one with another. And it will be better, if a party of the enemy should happen to make such an attempt, to fight him before he hath an opportunity to get far into our country.

I have offered a consideration also to our friends at London, that you might have two regiments of foot sent too, 'of' which I am not without hope.

The Lord bless you and keep you, and increase the number of His faithful ones. Pray for us, and for him who assures you he is your affectionate faithful Friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

[Carlyle's Cromwell, Appendix 20.*]

VI.

A LETTER FROM MAJOR GEN. HARRISON'S HEADQUARTERS.

Sir,

We are now come to Penrith in Cumberland, and may probably before this comes to your hands have an engagement with the enemy. The Lord begins, according to his former method, to suffer them to swell with confidence, and to bring us low in their eyes, as we desire to be in our own.

Cap. French, who commanded the Militia Troop of Dragoons sent from Cumberland, being out with Colonell Alured in the West of Scotland, happened very unadvisedly to turn his horses out to grasse, not sending out any Scouts for security, so that the Enemy waiting for such an oportunity, came and drove them all away, but 2 of the whole Troop being left behind.

This morning I understood by letters from Colonell Alured, that Major Generall Lambert hath commanded him to march of thence to the Head Quarters; advising him to have a special care at his drawing off, that he give the Enemy no advantage on him; for they are very busie, and (as we are informed by the same Letter) have since taken at grasse all the horse of Major Wright's Troop, and 20 of his men. And probably, most of Colonell Alured's Regiment and the dragoons with

him, might have been lost so, lying in the mouth of the Enemy, and where they were put to send about 30 miles for their provisions, if they had not been seasonably called off. But now the way is open between them and us, there being no Guard, nor man of ours left in all the west, so that now we begin to keep constant strong Guards and Scouts out.

The Beginning of this month is the time (by all our Intelligence) that they intend to make for England. One letter saith they have had the Communion delivered to them by their Ministers, several Lords daies; And the 25 of the last moneth was their last day of receiving it in order to their present designe.

Mr. Morgan Lloyd, Cap. Tayleur, and Cap. Hugh Prichard, with sixty of the North-Wales Troop, are come up to us; And there are so many pretious Saints of God coming (as we hear) in the Middlesex, and other Troops; and surely the presence of the Lord (which we desire more then the increase of our force) usually attends such; and we are not without persuasions, that in the very hour we shall behold it.

Penrith, 5 June.*

[*From "Perfect Passages of Every Daie's Intelligence, Etc." June 6-18, 1651. The letter was probably from Harrison himself.]

VII.

Aug. 2, 1651.

MAJOR GENERAL HARRISON &c. TO THE LORD GENERAL CROMWELL.

Leith, 2d. 5m. 1651.

Maiest it please your Excellencie,

THE severall intelligences wee have received of the motions of the enemy, since your Excellencie marched from Bountishend,¹ wee have as they came to our hands dispatched them to your's: But being out of reach to understand your judgment thereof, and your timely pleasure, how the forces left on this side should be improved, wee have been put to some difficultie in our thoughts thereon, especially considering the reports wee have received from private hands, and some parties wee have sent forth, are so various, that wee cannot say, whether the enemy be marched southward with his whole army, or a part, or whether those that bee fallen that way, intend for England, or but to quicken their leavies in the west, and for refreshment. However, wee concluded upon the whole, that Major Generall Harrison should repayre to the borders with the horse bee brought up with him (whether Major Heines and Major Husbands, upon intelligence of some parties of the enemy that were come into Tinedale to raise the country, were before sent with five or six hundred horse, and directions since, in case that the enemies whole army was marched that way, to fall down towards Berwick for security); where also bee might unite those under Col. Rich and Col. Sanders, with those bee brings backe, and thence (if it appeare the

¹ Burntisland?

enemy makes for England with their whole army) apply to Sir Arthur Heslerigg, and my Lord Fairfax, to improve their interests for the getting together the well affected *of* of the northerne counties, that so the enemy might receive a considerable opposition, without withdrawing much of the forces (if your Excellencie should so thinke fit) now marching immediately with you, from prosecuting the merces of the Lord on Fife side. And wee have thought also, in a letter wee are dispatching to the Councell of State, to give them an accomp of our intelligence and judgements thereupon, to bee represented (if themselves should first finde waight in the thing) to the Parliament for their letters into the northerne counties to this purpose: Herein venturing (as wee confesse wee doe) our reputations, rather than to bee found in the issue to have neglected any lawfull meanes, to prevent the disturbance and various miseries might be renewed on England, in case the enemy should march that way with their whole army, while your Excellencie is so much in the reare, and no considerable force in their vayne, to give them checke. We also humbly thought if at last it should appear to bee the enemies designe still to keep in trenches and fastnesses, near Stirling, then a body so gott together in the north of England for a moneth or two might march up on this side (your Excellencie so thinking fit) and bee assistant to force the enemy to engage or famish. But wee humbly lay ourselves with these thoughts upon this emergency at your Excellencie's feet; and shall waite the signification of your farther pleasure concerninge us: Remayning,

My Lord,

Your Excellencie's humble and faithfull servants,

{	T. HARRISON,
{	G. FENWICK,
{	PH. TWISLETON.

We have just now intercepted a foot-post with private letters, which confirms us that the whole army (except some horse with Montgomery in the north) are marching for England. The foot-post, who is a subtile old knave, saith, that the King, D. Buckingham, Middleton, and the rest of the armie, did march yesterday morninge from neare Fawkirk, and spoke of goeing for England. He was very hardly drawn to confess anything: And one letter from an Englishman to his wife, saith, that he was goeing to their fater.

For His Excellencie the Lord Generall CROMWELL. These.

The Governor of Burnt-Island is desired to get this letter sent with all possible speed.

[Milton State Papers, p. 71 should be dated Aug. 2, not July 2.]

VIII.

To the Parliament's Commissioners for the County of York.

NEWCASTLE, 6th Day of the sixth
month, August, 1651.

GENTLEMEN,

The Lord having so ordered it, that our Army are Masters of Fife, by which the Enemy gives up their Expectations of Scotland for lost, they are necessitated for Want of Provisions, as to their last Refuge, to run for England, taking the Opportunity of our Armies being on the other Side the great River. And though there be a mighty Spirit of Terror from God upon them, so that they are ready to fly when none follows them; yet their large Promises to their Soldiers, of Plunder in England, bear up the Spirits of divers to make another Adventure for it, forgetting the large Testimony the Lord formerly gave against them. It now remains that you and every good Man give all Diligence to improve your Interests, and all possible Means God may put into your Hands, to give a Check to this vile Generation untill our Army come up, who will follow hard after them, that the Goods of the Land may not be devoured by such Caterpillars.

I have withall about 3000 Horse, which I shall endeavour to dispose of, as God in his Love and Wisdom shall please to instruct me, and wherewith I hope to give the Enemy some Trouble. If some Foot could be speedily raised to break down Bridges or stop some Passages upon them. However, considering the Battle is the Lord's, and not ours, and it is alike to him to save by few or many, I hope we may be useful in this Juncture, though we be few, mean, and none more unworthy. The Lord quicken you, me, and all that profess to fear him, to give all Diligence in our Stations to quit ourselves as the Friends of Christ, against the Men that will not have him to reign, though God hath sworn he will set his Son upon his Holy Hill, and they that oppose him shall be broken in Pieces as a Potter's Vessel. The Enemy's Hope is, that Englishmen will be so mad as to join with them (seeing they have lost their Credit with their own Countrymen), which we hope God will prevent in a good measure by your Hands, and also lift up a Standard against them; wherein not doubting your best Assistance, and, much more, the loving Kindness of God, I remain,

Yours,

T. HARRISON.

P. S. It will be very necessary that before the Approach of the Enemy, all Kind of Horses, Cattle and Provision, be driven out of the way, for the better Prevention of them to their Owners, and Disappointment of the Enemy: They mount their Foot upon all the Horses they can get, wherefore it will be necessary the Foot you raise should be also mounted to answer them, they being a flying Party. I desire to

hear from you with all convenient Speed, being upon my March towards Richmond, and so to lye upon the Skirts of Yorkshire, if possible to get before the Enemy if they should intend by the way of Cheahire.

IX.

MAJOR GENERAL HARRISON'S LETTER TO THE LORD-PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

NEWCASTLE, 7th of the Sixth Month,
1651, at 11 o'Clock Forenoon.

My Lord,

' Having lately given your Lordship an Account, from Berwick, of the several Intelligences we had concerning the King of Scots, Intendant for England, I forbore to give you any further Trouble therein; till, coming nearer, I might receive a more certain Understanding of them. On the fifth Instant I reached this Place, where receiving, from divers Hands, Expresses of their being near the Borders, I staid all Yesterday to get up the Troops with Col. Rich and Col. Barton, from about Hexham, and ten Troops following from Scotland. I judged it also my Duty, and accordingly dispatched Letters, whereof I have inclosed a Copy, to the Commissioners of Parliament in the several Counties of Lancaster, York, Chester, Stafford, Salop, Nottingham, Derby, and the six Counties of North Wales, to give them timely Notice hereof; that, if it might be, some Foot may be suddenly got together in the Van of the Enemy to assist the Horse, and to check them till our Army might overtake them. The last Night I received Letters from the Governor of Carlisle, signifying that yesterday the Enemy's Army got upon English Ground, and seemed to intend for Lancashire. I shall not mention Particulars, but have inclosed the two Letters, whereto I refer you. I have withall about 3000 Horse, whereof but four Troops are Dragoons. The Foot being mounted, I hope to put some Trouble upon the Enemy in their march.

' Just now I received an Express from his Excellency, signifying, that having taken St. Johnstown, left a Party of the Army to make good Fife, and possess the Town of Stirling, which the Enemy hath quitted, he hath dispatch'd Major-General Lambert, with about 3 or 4000 Horse, to pursue the Enemy in the Rear, who is already far on his March from Leith; and his Excellency follows with the Foot and Train, with all possible Expedition. So that the Lord hath now tempted out the Enemy from his Trenches, Fastnesses, and Advantages; and we doubt not but he will very speedily discomfit them, and cut this work short in Righteousness.

' I shall humbly offer it to you, if, in this Juncture, I might get together 4 or 500 godly Men well mounted, that you would be pleased to

make some Provision for them, for a Month or two. And surely this is a Time wherein God doth, and I rest confident you will, own all such. Being in very great Haste I commend you to the Lord, and remain,

Your humble and faithful Servant,

T. HARRISON.

X.

RIPON, 11 Day of the 6th Month,
1651, about Noon.

SIR,

I Shall spare giving any large Account of our Affairs, having lately given the Council that Trouble; whereof I believe you will not be ignorant, or of so much as is worthy the Parliament's Knowledge.

This Morning I received an Express from Major-General Lambert, dated the 9th, about Twelve at Noon within ten Miles of Penrith, and several Letters inclosed, which he had taken, and therewith six of the Enemy convoying them, whereof two were Lairds. He desired my Dispatch of these Letters to my Lord-General Cromwell, which accordingly I have done: But considering that they came from the Duke of Hamilton, Lord Lauderdale, and Lord Wentworth; and that the Esteem they have of the Presbyterian Party (whom Hamilton calls Rogues, and Lauderdale thinks they are very well rid of) and the Pleasure they take in their present pure Cavalierish Composition, may help to satisfy those displeased Friends. I thought it my Duty to transmit you Copies of them, till his Excellency can send the Originals, I being so much nearer than he is.

I am confident the Duke speaks their very Heart, not knowing the Danger of the Consequence as the other did, who writ accordingly; And we expect, Day by Day, the Lord will more open their Eyes, to see the Snare whereunto himself in Judgment hath led them: So that the Terrors of the Lord will prove a sorer Enemy to them than we.

My Lord Howard's Son commanded a Troop at Carlisle, whom 'ere this I had secured, but that he is his Son. He took off with him but 12 of his Troop (as the Major-General and the Governor of Carlisle inform me), which would have been cashiered, had we had Opportunity, and they staid. The Riddance of such are no Loss to us, nor their Accession Strength to them.

The Major-General will be this Night, I hope, in their Rear, and I am hastening to get the Van, and if possible to recover the Middle Parts of Lancashire before; for which Purpose, the Lord pleasing, I design this Night to be at Skipton, and so towards Preston or Manchester, as Providence shall direct.

If the Enemy keep constant Motion he might be near Preston this Night, as he lay at Kendal on Saturday, which is but about 35 Miles distant, and so may put us a little to it to reach him. I know the

Major-General will not let their Rear go off quietly, whereby he may easily clog their March.

My Lord General is in Northumberland, and Sir Arthur Hazelrigge writes me he will be at Hexham on Tuesday; I believe sooner, knowing he will make Haste.

The Lord prepare all our Hearts for the great Mercy he will shortly show us (whereof thro' his Grace, we do not in the least doubt), and help us to cry to him for Strength against his and our inward Enemies, whilst he strengthens us against his and our outward Enemies. Pardon my Rudeness; I am upon my March, and in some Haste subscribe myself,

Your most humble Servant,

T. HARRISON.'

XI.

BOLTON in Lancashire *15th Day of the 6th Month, 1651, near Two in the Morning.*

My Lord,

I Receiv'd yours of the 11th Inst. by Mr. Paine, and one before by your other Messenger; I must crave your Pardon that I have not written to you since. I was at Ripon, expecting a Conjunction with Major-General Lambert, and I forbore these two Days, till I might have something considerable to signify. Yesterday we joined on Hasle-Moor, and are now about 6000 Horse in the Van of the Enemy. The Enemy made some Halt on Elhill-Moor, four miles on this side Lancaster, whereby we were somewhat amazed, thinking they might be on Councils for a timely Retreat to their own Country; but this Day, about Noon, we received Understanding of their Advance for Preston, and soon after of their March through a Town on this Side; in Design, probably, to get before us to the Pass at Warrington, where we have about 3000 Foot (waiting Conjunction with us) from Cheshire and Staffordshire. Thereupon we marched to this Place, and To-Morrow Morning, by Day-light, shall be setting forth for Warrington, the Lord willing, whereabouts the Country being more open and champaignous, after the Accession of these Foot, we trust we shall be used by our God, to bring it to a speedy and glorious Issue.

Their King, we hear, is discontented and cast down, that his Subjects, as he still calls them, come in no faster to him; his Expectations being great therein, though answered incalculably either as to Persons or Numbers, many more of their old Soldiers running away from them daily than we can understand of any Access to them. There is a Rumor of their Intendment for the landing of some troops in North Wales from the Isle of Man; but of that no Certainty; though it may be a further Argument to you that the Isle of Man should be well guarded.

' Cheshire hath been very forward in their Levies upon this Emergency, most of the Foot above-mentioned being from thence. Six hundred of Col. Jennings's Horse are come to Manchester, whom I have sent to, that they may meet us at Warrington.

' There are several things I should have touched to your Lordship, but I hope you shall receive a further account from Warrington, in the Evening. I commend your weighty Affairs to the Grace of an approved good Lord, in whom we rest absolutely assured of a wonderful and glorious Issue of the Work in Hand: remaining,

My Lord,

Your most faithful Servant to my Power,

T. HARRISON.'

XII.

*At the Camp near WARRINGTON BRIDGE, the
16th Day of the 6th Month, about Eleven in
the Morning.*

My Lord,

' Having join'd with Major-General Lambert, about Twelve at Noon, on the 18th Inst. on Hasle-Moor within seven Miles of Preston; the Enemy, according to our best Intelligence, lying then on Elhill-Moor, four miles on this Side Lancaster, and that Evening march'd to Haworth-Moor, within eight miles of Preston and yesterday through Preston towards Wigan; designing as we conceive, to get up to Warrington-Bridge before us; and yesterday receiving a sudden Account of their marching through the Town, we crossed the Country, and about One of the Clock this Morning reached Bolton; and, after some short Stay for refreshing our Men, we marched away for Warrington, where we are now, in Conjunction with about 4000 Foot and Dragoons, raised in Cheshire and Staffordshire.

' We are improving the little Time we have got before them here, to the spoiling the Fords and Passes on the River, especially between us and Manchester; leaving those only open to them where, if they attempt a Passage, we may be most considerable to make Opposition; and, if the Lord will, engage them. Wherein we wait his Pleasure and Providence concerning us, not questioning but if we be clearly call'd to give them Battle, or if they seek us out and force us to it, (as in reason it seems to be much their Interest) before my Lord-General comes up with the Foot and Train, which is by this time about Barnard Castle, we shall find our Hearts fill'd with a heavenly Power from the Lord, and see his antient Arm lift'd up, as in former Times, against his Enemies. I am

Your most humble Servant,

T. HARRISON.'

' P. S. We expect this Day they will attempt to force their Passage at some of the narrowest Passes, where they apprehend our Resistance

least considerable. We are appointing a Council to consider whether we should not withdraw, tho' there be a Spirit given generally to press to engage them, if the Lord should vouchsafe an open Field for it.'

XIII.

Upon the March from KNOTSFORD towards CONGLETON, Aug. 17, 1651, about Nine of the Clock.

SIR,

' Yesterday, the 16th, the Enemy came on with their whole Army, and press'd to pass at the Bridge, and Fort near it, which we had broken down and spoil'd as well as we could in so short a Time. A Company of our Foot were drawn down to the Barricade of the Bridge, who behaved themselves gallantly, and gave the Enemy Opposition till we saw Cause to draw them off, securing their Retreat by Parties of Horse; which we did, because we were unwilling to engage the whole Army, where our Horse could not come to make Service, thro' the Inclosures; The Enemy thereupon hastened over their whole Army, and their King in the Van, if not Forlorne, which was his own Life Guard, as some Prisoners told us since; and press'd hard upon our Rear, whereof Col. Rich had the Guard, who wheel'd off Parties, and charged them thrice as they came on, and the Lord every Time caused those of the Enemy, that were so forward, to fly before us.'

' We killed the Officer that commanded one of their Parties, and two or three Troopers; and some Countrymen since bring us in word that 28 of theirs were slain in the several skirmishes, and but four of ours that I can hear of, there, and at the Bridge.'

' As they fell on they cried, Oh you Rogues, we will be with yon before your Cromwell comes; which made us think they would press to engage us with all Speed.'

' We are drawing up at Knotsford-Moor to wait them, though we hear since, that they marched a good Part of the Night on the London Road.'

Your faithful Servant,

THO. HARRISON.'

XIV.

LEEK, Aug. 18, 1651.

SIR,

' This Night we quartered with our Forces at Leek, in Staffordshire, intending for Cheadle, towards Bagot's Bromley To-morrow. The Enemy seems to be much discouraged by the seasonable Preparation of Forces the Parliament is making thereabouts; by the Country's forbearing to come into them as they expected: and, lastly, by the Inconsiderableness of the Earl of Derby's Forces; who, after all that Noise, can make but 250 Foot and 60 unarm'd Horse, as our best Intelligence

saih, with whom he landed on Saturday last, at Wier-Water, in Lancashire, hasting to his King, if not interrupted in the Way, which we hope he will be. Their Army, we heard this morning, lay last Night about Northwich, and this Evening advanced between Nantwich and Chester; their Councils seem very unsteady.'

XV.

PRESTON, 7th day of the 7th Month [1651].

SIR,

'I make no Question but you have had a large Account, from my Lord General, of the Mercy at Worcester, which was very eminent, and as a Crown to all the Lord vouchsafed us formerly. The Battle being turned by our God, it pleased his Excellency to appoint me the Pursuit; and having a little breathing Time, I judge it my Duty to give you the best Account I can of the Lord's Goodness to us therein, which I have duly dispatched to his Excellency by Letter, or some Officer, as I could for Time.

'And I conceive he hath transmitted to you all, that is yet to come to him, considerable: And therefore I shall not trouble you much with the Passages of the Evening and Night of the third Instant, and the Day following, wherein were taken and slain in the Pursuit (and so dispersed that the Country might bring them in) at least 2000 Horse and Foot, according to our best Guess; and amongst them the Earls of Derby, Cleveland, Lauderdale, and other considerable Officers.

'On the fifth Day of the Month we had Intelligence that the Enemy divided and took three Ways, and accordingly I divided the Forces with me. Appointing Colonel Sanders, with his Regiment, to the Pursuit of those that might take through Derbyshire and Yorkshire; Colonel Blundel, and Colonel Barton, with 800 Horse, and four or five Troops of Dragoons, to Manchester ward; and fourteen Troop of Horse to Warrington, and so onward on that Hand, with whom I kept: Giving the Colonels Directions (and taking the same Course also myself) to keep out commanded Parties of the ablest Horse close after the Enemy, while our Troops follow as they can.

'A Party of the Enemy, of about 500, passed over into Lancashire, at Hollin Ferry near Warrington (the Bridge being kept against them) of whom we had the Pursuit Yesterday; and, between that and Lancaster, took about 300 Horse, and amongst them the Viscount Kenmuir and his Brother, and Colonel Hume, with many considerable Officers.

'Those that escaped of this Party were so scattered, that the Country People will bring them in; I have so sent to the Commissioners that the Country People might get together in their several Divisions and Hundreds, with what Arms they had for that Purpose.

'Just now I am informed of 100 more taken near Bolton Yesterday, and 60 rendered themselves Prisoners to Capt. Carter and Capt. Ellatson of my Lord General's Regiment of Foot.

' The greatest Body that is left of the Enemy, being about 1000, I find is turned off some Way towards Yorkshire; but I hope some of the afore-mentioned Parties will light on them, the Work being, through the Lord's Goodness to us, so well over this Way. I am crossing the Country to Skipton, to fall in with them also, to do further upon the Remainder of the Enemy, as the Lord shall give Strength to our Forces, and minister Opportunity.

' The commanded Party that pursued on this Road (drawn out of Colonel Riche's, Colonel Lilburne's, Colonel Barton's, and my own Regiment) having most of them reached Lancaster the last Night. I hasten what may be towards Appulby, that they may join with what fresh Horse the Governor of Carlisle can raise, and attend what Providence may offer; not knowing (tho' none of the Enemy be on this Road in their Van) but that some may dribble down that Way: Giving them also Directions to get up to Hexham, with what Speed may be, where, possibly, they may get the Van of the Enemy, and be very useful to encourage the Country to rise before them.

' They are, undoubtedly, at a great Loss, and we have great Reason to hope few or none of them will escape out of England; and, if any do, I hope our Friends in Scotland (having had timely Notice of this Mercy) will be in a good Readiness to receive them.

' The Lord grant that the Parliament (whom he hath thus further honoured, and owned in the Eyes of all the World) may improve this Mercy, intrusted to their management, according to the Will of God, in establishing the Ways of Righteousness and Justice; yet more relieving of the Oppressed, and opening a wide Door to the publishing of the Everlasting Gospel of our only Lord and Saviour, who is worthy to be loved, honoured, exalted, and admired by all his People; and it will be so, through the Spirit that he will give them, and all his Enemies shall be made his Footstool. I commend you to his free Grace, which is exceeding abundant towards his poor People; remaining,

Your most humble Servant,
T. HARRISON.'

TITLES OF PAMPHLETS RELATING TO HARRISON.

(1.) A true relation of the Proceedings of the Northern forces under the Command of Col. Lambert and Col. Harrison

4to 1648

[British Museum E. 446 (12)]

(2.) Another Victory in Lancashire obtained against the Scots by Major-Gen. Harrison & Colonel Lilburn. Together with the manner of My Lord General Cromwell coming up & noble reception by the City of London

4to 1651

[British Museum E. 641 (14)]

(3.) Plain Dealing | or | The Countreymans doleful Complaint | and faithful Watchword, to | The Statesmen of the Times, | whether in the | Parliament or Army. | Wherein is set down | The Rise, Nature, and Species of | Right Government, | with | The corruption thereof in former, and this our | Generation, to this present time.

By Edward Harrison of Keensworth | in Hertfordshire, sometimes preacher to | Col: Harrison's Regiment.

Micah 6.8. He hath shewed thee, o man what is good: And what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, & to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God :

London. Printed for J. Harris, and are to be sold at Addle-Hill, 1649
[4to]

(4.) The | Speeches | and | Prayers | of | Some of the late King's Judges, viz. | Major General Harrison, Octob. 13 | Mr John Carew, Octob 15. | Mr Justice Cooke, Mr Hugh Peters, Octob. 16. | Mr Tho. Scot, Mr Gregory Clement, Col. Adrian Scroop, Col. John Jones, Octob. 17. | Col. Daniel Axtell, & Col. Fran Hacker, Octob. 19. | 1660 | The times of their Death | Together with | Severall occasional Speeches and Passages | in their Imprisonment till they came to | The place of Execution. | Faithfully and impartially collected for | further satisfaction.

Heb. 11. 4. And by it he being Dead, yet speaketh.

Printed Anno. Dom. 1660.

[Two pages ' To the Reader,' & 96 pp. of speeches & passages.]

(5.) A Complete Collection of the Lives, Speeches, Private Passages, Letters, & Prayers of those persons lately executed With observations on the same, Wherein their pretended sanctity is rejected, and a further inspection made into the lives and practises of those unhappy & traitorous polititians. By a person of Quality. I Cor. 18. 3. Though I give my body to be burned & have not charity it profiteth me nothing."

London 1661 802

Some copies of this are entitled ' Rebels No Saints,' & contain a different frontispiece as well as a new title-page. Both pamphlets are simply a reprint of ' Speeches & Passages,' with lives and observations added.

(6.) A Declaration of Maj.-Gen. Harrison prisoner in the Tower of London; with his rules & precepts to all publike Churches & private Congregations: And an answer thereto; Also the Revolution of the Fifth Monarchy men Anabaptists, Quakers, & others

London, printed for Nathaniel Tomkins 1660. 4to

The first page purports to give Garrison's views on public worship, preaching & observance of the Sabbath. The remaining 4 pp. are wordy observations of a gentleman who stood by in answer to Garrison.

Pamph. 112.

(7.) *Observations upon the last actions and words of Major General Garrison.* Written by a Minister in a letter to a Country-gentlewoman who seemed to take some offence at the same.

London 4to 1660

[Comments on Garrison's speech and demeanour at his execution in order to destroy the effect produced by them. "These fanatick sectaries what through such licentious pamphlets and their own surmises & traditions, are so hardened from the hearing of this man's resolution and his like (which they call the spirit of fortitude), that some of them (up and down the country) stick not to profess that they are now more settled in their opinions than ever; and mean to die martyrs."]

Bodleian Library (Wood. 369).

(8.) *A funeral sermon thundered forth by John Feake in his private congregation for the loss of their dearly beloved champion, Major General Garrison.*

London. Printed I. P. in the year 1660

4to

[British Museum E 1046 (16). Dated by Thomason Oct. 23. The text is taken from 'The Honourable History of the Seven Champions of Christendom.' Chap. xv. ver. 20. 'Thou speakest in vain, reply'd St George, not all the Treasures hidden in the deepest seas, nor all the golden mines of rich America, shall redeem thy life.' The discourse contains on p. 11, a letter 'from our deceased champion' to his wife, dated 'a barathro infernall Octob. 16 1660' A royalist satire, very much in the style of Gayton or Flatman]

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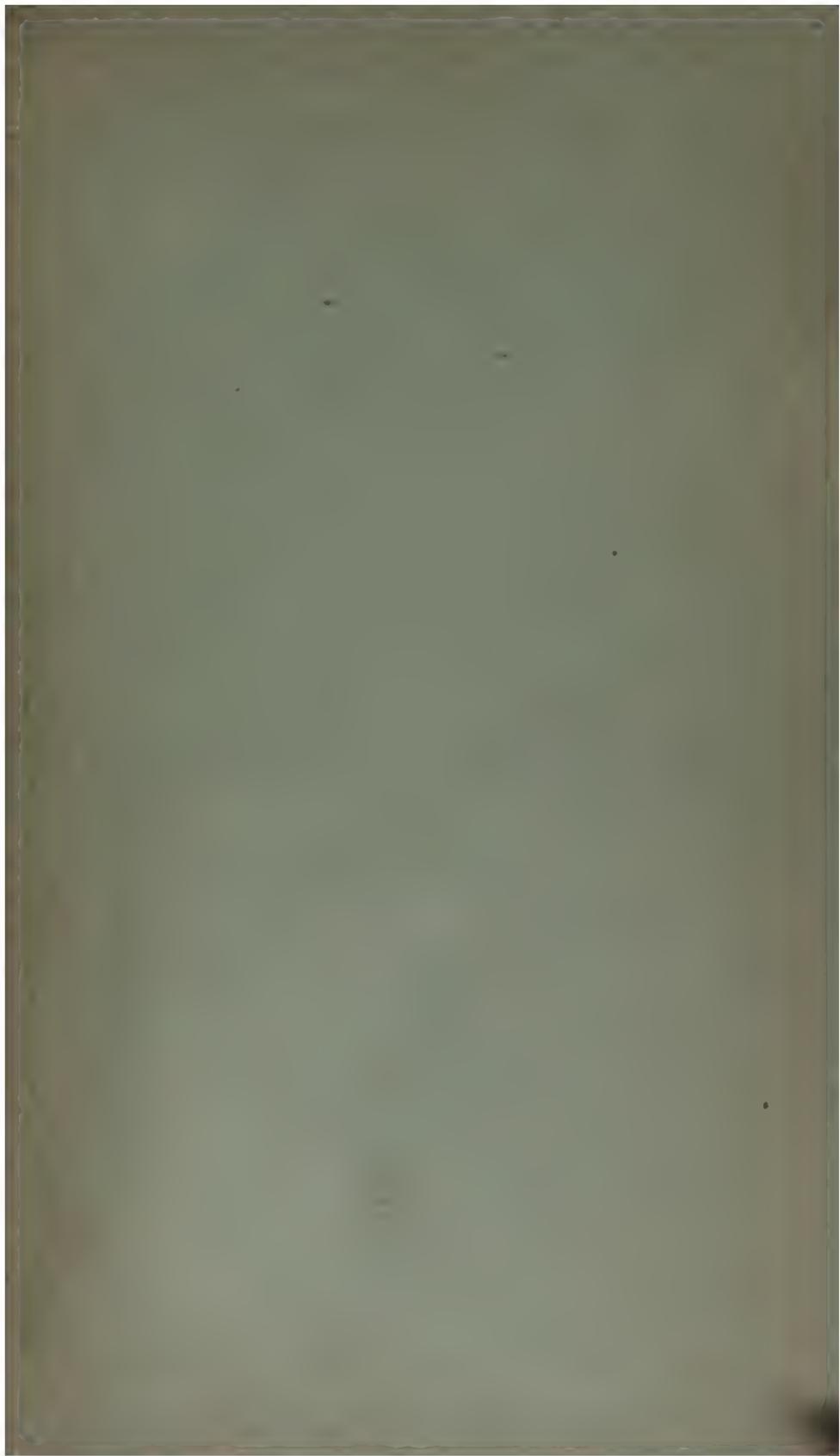
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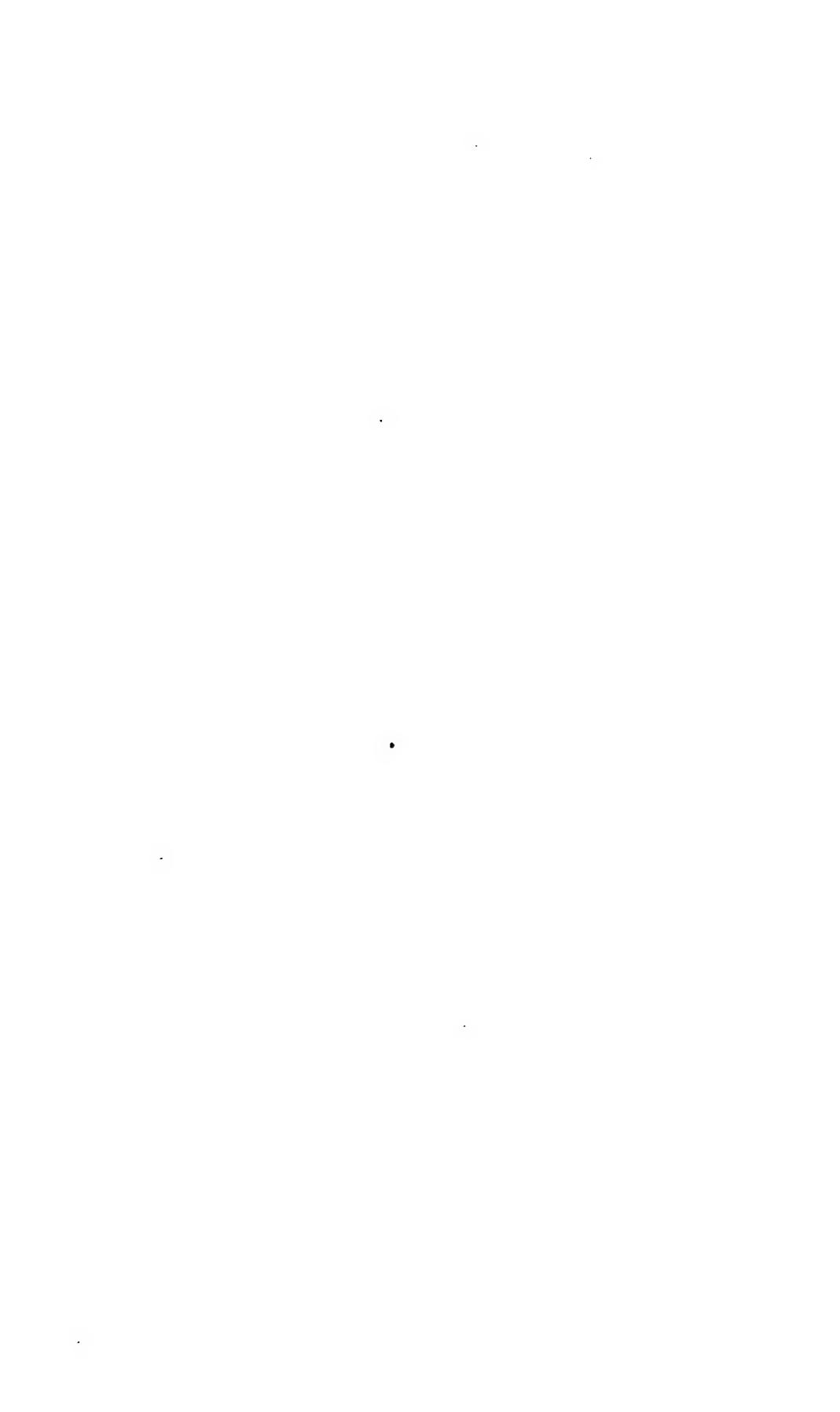
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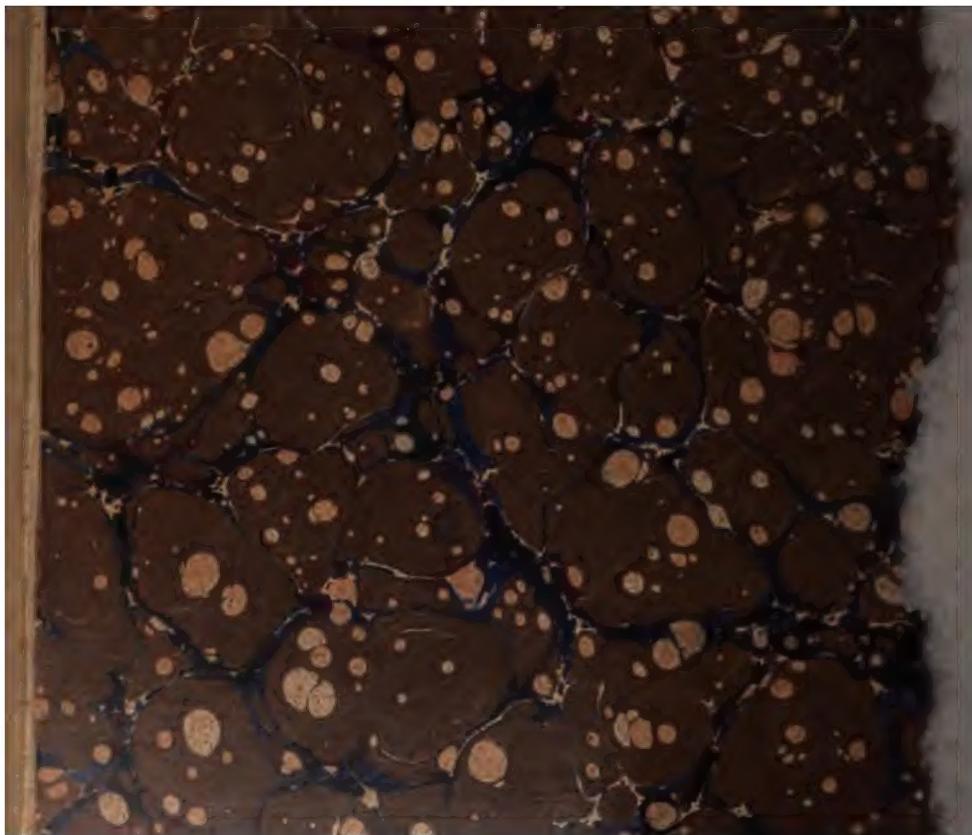






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